

Seeds
of
Promise

by CLIFFORD L. ASHTON

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Preface

History is usually written around the lives of "great men" and "great events." I am convinced the more significant history involves the common man and ordinary events. It is the common man who ultimately determines and shapes the destiny of mankind. He, and especially she, do the world's work, fight its battles, reproduce their kind, and in doing so "multiply and replenish the earth," thereby leaving their indelible mark so that their days through their children become "long upon the land." He who said, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth" knew what he was saying. They do.

This simple account of a family is an attempt to place some of these humble people into the history of their time. By following the threads of their lives through the fabric of history I have gained a better understanding of both history and my ancestors—and of myself. Perhaps those who read this account will share my experience.

I have tried to be objective and accurate, appreciating as I do that these people are not my private property to juggle about as I please. I have with extreme restraint drawn some conclusions. They are entirely my own. Like all conclusions they are no more than that. They will be shared or disregarded. The facts, however, if indeed they be facts, are stubborn things. They are what they are and will remain after this account is forgotten.

I believe an understanding of a family of people should reach as far as practical into the past. We are what we are not only because of what happened before, but more importantly, because of who went before. Accordingly, I have looked backward as far as feasibility and a busy life permitted.

My interest in history caused me to insert more historical sequences than perhaps justified. The British episodes are included for two reasons. First, I wanted to see the individuals involved "on stage" as participants in the ancient pageant of their times however remote and dim the scene. Second, in tracing the genealogy of my grandfather, Edward Ashton, I discovered several facts which needed explaining. First, all Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century ancestors, with the exception of the Welsh families of Lloyd and Bowen, did not have Welsh names. Second, these names appeared for the first time on the Parish records during the Elizabethan Renaissance. This alone is not too significant because this is when the first Parish records were established. Third, I further discovered that most all their occupations centered around the newly established Anglican Church where they performed as Vicars and Church Wardens. This was significant because these appointments were made with the approval of the Crown. The Church Warden was especially important as he collected fines and other revenues which during the Elizabethan period went directly to the Queen without the

necessity of Parliamentary approval. Fourth, all these early ancestors, even including the Vicars, were owners of real property. Fifth, and most significant, and almost unbelievably, all, even the Lloyds and Bowens, were identified as Gentlemen. In the Elizabethan period this was not a description of a man's qualities, it was his social and political classification which placed him in a significant way in the social political scale. Most "Gentlemen" were in fact younger sons or descendants of noblemen who were addressed as Sir. As this account points out there were a few others who were known as Gentlemen. Sixth, these Elizabethan ancestors of Edward Ashton belonged to a small group whose members almost clanishly intermarried with each other to an amazing degree. Seventh, they all, even including most of the women, unlike most of their Welsh neighbors, could read and write. They probably did not speak Welsh.

From these surprising facts it became quite clear to me that almost all of the Elizabethan ancestors of Edward Ashton were not Welsh at all. They were probably Norman-English who migrated into Wales as beneficiaries of the political and religious upheaval resulting from the Reformation and Revolution which occurred during the so-called Elizabethan Renaissance and which continued on until the reign of Charles I, which was terminated when that proud and stubborn head fell to the Cromwellian axe.

These ancestors maintained to a limited degree their English culture until long after the Reformation, Rebellion, Restoration and Glorious Revolution. Even Edward Ashton, my grandfather, as a Nineteenth Century descendant of those Seventeenth Century ancestors, could not speak Welsh until he taught himself to do so just before he came to Utah. This was not true of the ancestors of Edward Ashton's wife, Jane Treharne. They could not speak or read English when they left Wales in 1849.

During the Rebellion (the Cromwellian period) the old ancestral names which were so common in the area of Trefeglwys began to disappear from the Parish records. This could have been caused by several things, including religious dissent from the established Church of England, but more probably it was caused by loss of lands and position resulting from the Rebellion. Most of these ancestors, like other members of the class and as beneficiaries of the Crown, were no doubt Crown Supporters—called Cavaliers to distinguish them from Cromwell's Roundheads. When Cromwell came to power many of these Cavalier ancestors had to flee. Most lost their lands. Some probably lost their heads. Some went to the West Indies and the Southern Colonial States. As Cavaliers they were not welcome in Puritan New England.

From the time of the "Glorious Revolution" until Waterloo in 1815, England changed from a Monarchy controlled by Parliament to an Aristocracy which controlled both Parliament and the Monarchy. As the Aristocracy increased in power it imposed more and more upon the common man (and woman) as all strong governments do. This it did by depriving him of his lands, imposing restrictions on its use and waging expensive and wasteful wars on the Continent of Europe and in far away places. Of course the common man did most of the fighting and dying. While these wars brought glorious victories—the only beneficiaries were those in control—the Aristocracy. Even they soon felt the pinch of the post-war syndrome—the inevitable devaluation of the currency and the corresponding inflationary costs of commodities. How else can government pay for what its people really could not afford in the first place? History is sad. Its toughest lessons are seldom remembered by ambitious people in power.

The Ashton ancestors in Wales lived through this abuse of power and suffered the consequences. At the time of my grandfather Edward Ashton's birth they, like most of

the common people, had been reduced to a vast proletariat of dipossessed and impoverished people.

Because of this changing historical development, and because I could not understand what was occurring, I traced English history during this period and included briefly in this account some of the significant events.

I confess that time has not permitted me to make the same kind of study of Jane Treharne's Welsh ancestors. I regret this very much because I suspect that Jane Treharne may have been more influential in the life of her family than her husband Edward Ashton. She, and her sister Sage, were both very strong and able women. Two of Sage's children, "Uncle Uriah" and "Uncle Kumen"—particularly Uncle Uriah, looked more like my father than any of his brothers.

The brief Utah historical settings are included because I wanted to see my grandparents as humble but very active participants in the fascinating drama of early Utah Mormon history. They participated in all the events which affected the early Utah Pioneers from almost the beginning until long after the death of Brigham Young. I have terminated my account of this history at that point. This Utah historical backdrop was really the Brigham Young Era.

Pro-Mormon history has been written from a religious viewpoint as indeed it should be. But there was more to it than that. There was a fascinating temporal and military history which evolved during this critical period. During all this time the Mormon people, and more particularly their leaders, were struggling to have their own government—their own army—their own courts—and, finally, complete autonomy—independent of the Federal Government. They wanted to be controlled only by their own leaders and limited only by the Constitution of the United States, which they believed did not authorize the Federal Government to set up the machinery of government in the Territory. This, they believed, because of Articles IX and X of the United States Constitution, was to be their exclusive prerogative.

Edward Ashton participated in this struggle from its inception until the death of Brigham Young when the grand plan was abandoned. Edward saw it all. What he could have told us. I have therefore tried to place him and his wife in that scene with emphasis on the temporal aspects—because Edward functioned in that area. In doing this I have not forgotten that he was a deeply spiritual and religious man, guided and directed not only by his leaders, but more importantly, by his own religious beliefs, which incidentally, like the beliefs of many of the early Welsh converts were not only the result of Mormon teaching. Most of them had deep spiritual and religious convictions before they joined the Mormons. Those convictions led them to conversion. Most were products of the teachings of Wesley and other leaders of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century religious revival which was taking place in Great Britain as well as in New England and in Western New York and Pennsylvania.

While many of the episodes referred to ostensibly involved Edward Ashton, Jane Treharne was always there. The chauvinistic historical method of remembering only men must be very annoying to many women as it is to me. Utah Pioneer history is not as bad as most in this regard, but even that history sometimes indicates that the only people worth remembering were men. In *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, a huge publication of Utah Pioneer biographies, there are several thousand photographs of Utah Pioneers. There is, of course, not one photograph of a woman. For most every

male pictured therein there is at least one female counterpart—oftentimes a stronger and better person.

I don't know whether the Treharne women like Jane and Sage had equal rights or not. To them it was not even pertinent. They had more than equal responsibility and influence in their spheres of activity—which incidentally were not limited to their own homes. Rights, duties and responsibilities tend to be shared. In our modern society where women compete with men for a salary and economic position there is a very pertinent problem which pioneer women did not experience.

The historical backdrops are, of course, of my own choosing, and are identified by reference to those who ruled during the period. For awhile these people were able to control the destiny of their more humble subjects. In the end the power which they exercised corrupted not only themselves but usually their children, so that their influence was soon destroyed. Any fairly astute observer of human nature knows that power inevitably corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. This is certainly not an original observation. A wise old friend and client of mine observed: "The only good man is a humble one; the only good church is a poor one; and the only good government is a weak one." This glittering generality is more often true than not. The humbling fact of death limits the corruptive process in people, and the inevitable course resulting from its stern insistence on change creates repeated opportunities for reform which awakens the common people who produce the new leaders of another day. In truth and in fact the meek do inherit the earth. They only have to wait.

Finally, I have probably written this account more for my own satisfaction than concern for any reader; in fact I suspect I have written this history solely for my own benefit. I do not presume to impose it in any way as an "authorized family version."



Chapter One

Historical Background–Reformation (See Preface)

The British Isles have been subject to migrations and invasions throughout history. Even before the Romans there were migrations of coastal Europeans. British history records many infusions and mergers of blood, culture, and language. The English language itself demonstrates the effect of these integrations containing more borrowed words than any other.

The most significant single invasion or migration of Ashton ancestors occurred when William The Conqueror waded out of the English Channel in 1066 with his legions of Norman supporters and adventurers. Among them and those who followed were those carrying the names of Breynton, Jarman, Bennett, Turner, Benbow, Hall, Wilson, Ashton and others. These Normans were not even originally French. They were descendants of early Vikings who settled the coastal areas of eastern and northern England, northern France, and as far south as the northwestern coast of Italy. They were as much British, Flemish and Swedish as they were French. These coastal adventurers made up the so-called Norman invasion. They, more than the Welsh, were the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century ancestors of Edward Ashton.

From the time of this conquest until the House of Tudors was established, Norman conquerors ruled the native occupants of the Island with a strong medieval hand. These subjugated Angles, Saxons, and Celts became little more than serfs, grooms, and vassals of their conquerors. They had no voice in the affairs of the Kingdom. Most of them were not permitted to own property; in fact they became little more than property of the ruling class. The voice of the ruling class was generally Norman-French.

The period of Henry VII (1485-1509) marked the beginning of an Anglo-Saxon and more especially a Celtic resurgence. Henry murdered, maneuvered, and fought dynas-

tic wars to establish the House of Tudors. His fighting, of course, was done by the common man, many from Wales, who fought with their Welsh long bow, which had become the most effective weapon in Europe. It was Henry's ambition they served—not their own. They, as usual, were pawns in the game.

The events and circumstances which formed the background for the advent of Henry occurred when a Welshman by the name of Owain Tudur, became the common ancestor of all the modern national Kings and Queens of England. In the Fifteenth Century Owain occupied the position of a Stewart or upper groom in the household of Catherine, the widow of Henry V.¹ Owain was from the House of Ednyfed Fychan, of South Wales. Owain's conduct with the Queen became openly scandalous. Some said he and the Queen were secretly married, but there is no proof of this assertion. There were children born of this union. One of these descendants was named Edmund. Edmund made an ambitious marriage with Margaret Beaufort. Through this union he was able to take the title of Earl of Richmond. After much shameful intrigue his son was duly crowned King of England. His name became Henry VII.

These events not only shaped the foundations of Modern England, they also caused a migration of people and a cultural development into Wales which was directly responsible for the first ancient ancestors of Edward Ashton coming into that area. These migrations resulted from the Reformation and the Revolution which followed the changes brought about by the rise of the House of Tudor.

The revolutionary process began in earnest with the advent of the unruly and vital Henry VIII (1509-1547). He showed all the qualities of his Welsh forebearers having red hair, a large head, and a short and irritable temper. He was also shrewd and devious. When Henry came to the throne the Catholic Church, through its Priests and the Pope, controlled to a large extent the economy of England. The Church owned substantial portions of the land and retained extensive rights to timbering and pasturing. It also controlled the tithes.

Avaricious Henry, coveting this great Church wealth, saw in his difficulties with his wife Catherine, who had not borne him a son, a chance to break with the Pope and marry his mistress Ann Boleyn. His reasons were not so much religious as they were economic and biological and in that order of importance. Therefore, Henry, in a defiant move, divorced Catherine and married Ann. He was forthwith excommunicated. He immediately retaliated by announcing that the "Divine Right of Kings" gave him the right to be head of the Catholic Church in England. Henry had no intention of starting a new Church. He simply wanted to take control of the old one.

When Henry died his only son Edward and his two daughters Mary and Elizabeth were too young to rule. England, therefore, was fortunately governed for an important period by the Protector, Somerset. Somerset immediately initiated a policy which sparked off the great Religious Reformation, which, like religious reforms generations later, touched and controlled the destiny of millions of people, including ancestors of Edward Ashton. These reforms were directed not by the Kings and Queens nor by the wealthy, but as all reforms, by intellectuals. These people ignited a fire in the hearts of the common man, (and woman) which warmed and nurtured their sense of dignity until they began to lift their heads with self-respect.

Even more affected than the common man was the historically ignored common woman. Gradually, reform tempered by religion partially liberated her from the bonds which had made her little more than a vassal of her lord and master—her husband. That emancipation is still in process.

First, Somerset eradicated the Catholic Mass. Second, he caused a new liturgy to be recited in English in all the Churches thus replacing the ancient Latin text. Third, he caused a new prayer book, written in beautiful English prose, to be used in all places of worship. This, of course, meant Catholic Priests were either required to renounce their religion or be replaced. The replacements came from the ranks of the new preferred class favored by Somerset and those who had influence with him. This new class was taking form and was made up largely of Norman-English who were merchants, younger sons of the old nobility, usually classified as Gentlemen, Vicars, and Yeomen landowners. It also contained the lawyers who represented them, especially lawyers who belonged to the powerful guild.

Up to this time and except for the Edwardian Conquest, North Wales had remained relatively unchanged. Its people, with some exceptions because of the War of the Roses, were mostly descendants of the ancient Ordovician Tribes. Now Wales began to receive a new ruling class made up of Norman-English carpetbaggers who were sent into the Provinces to replace the Priests, Sheriffs, and society which benefited from the politically eliminated Catholic Culture. It was in this interesting period that many Norman and English names appeared for the first time in the early Welsh ecclesiastical and civil records.

Edward Ashton's ancestors were among this new carpetbag class. However, unlike the carpetbaggers of the post-American Civil War, these migrants brought a new culture and enlightenment which touched off the later Elizabethan Renaissance in Wales. Some of their names were Benbow, Wilson, Beversley, Bennett, Jarman, Turner, Hall, Breynton, Savage, and Ashton. Most of them were better educated than the average Welshman, and significantly all were members of the Gentry.²

In order to get some understanding of Edward Ashton's ancestors of this period it is necessary to understand the importance of the name "Gentleman" which is appended to all of the early Ashton ancestral names. When we speak of a gentlemen in our time we refer to the qualities of a man. The use of the word in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries in England and Wales referred to a status which carried well understood privileges. When James I's wife was asked by one of his subjects how her husband could become a Gentleman, she was told that only God could do that. In all litigation a "Gentleman" had a preferred position. Only he could sit on Grand Juries. There were many other privileges including those relating to dueling and penalties of scandal. It was impossible to scandalize most of the common men—but dangerous if it was a Gentleman.

How did a man qualify to be a Gentleman? It is difficult to determine because it resulted from a changing historical development. The derivation comes from the Latin *gentilis*, indicating inheritance, and later from the French *gentile*, in the Medieval Period, meaning well born. In the Twelfth Century it came to mean a non-Jew, a non-Christian, or a non-barbarian. Down to the Fifteenth Century noble and gentle in their social sense were interchangeable and in the conservative official language of the Heralds continued far into the Sixteenth Century. Up to the Fifteenth Century "Gentlehomme" included Barons and Knights as well as men of knightly class who had not been knighted. By the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries it was based on blood, education, and easy living—attached often to military rank coupled with ownership of land, which was usually obtained for military service. It was not necessarily a matter of wealth—often they were not as wealthy as some Yeomen. After the Reformation younger sons of the Gentry if not directed into law or the Church were apprenticed.

On the lower social level were the churls or free peasants and the serfs or villeins. These villeins were bound to the soil and fixed services. They could not change their employment. While they were not slaves the difference was minimal. These all carried hereditary controls. The offspring of a free woman and a villein was a villein. The villein's money belonged to his Lord. There was also a class of men called Franklins—who were free. In Tudor times these Franklins who had performed military service became Yeomen. These were the descendants of the archers of Crecy and Portiers who fought so effectively on the Continent for Edward III, where the Welsh long bow established its military supremacy.

One hundred acres usually marked the difference between a Yeoman and a Gentleman. By the Seventeenth Century, following the Reformation, clergymen were permitted to marry daughters of the Gentry.* Some, who were landowners, also became Gentlemen. Trefelyan reports that by the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries "almost without exception (Gentlemen) were either relations of noblemen or former chaplains to noblemen or tutors to their sons."*** In a few instances men like Berkeley, et al. were considered Gentlemen because of the services they rendered to learning—not the Church. One clergyman, lamenting this fact, wrote: "Wee poor clergymen (provided wee may be acknowledged as Gentlemen) and that a worshipful one and I care not to go higher."**** Clergymen after the Reformation often owned property and sometimes were listed as Gentlemen.

Without exception all the early Ashton ancestors of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries were either members of the Gentry or their younger sons. It explains a great deal. It is why they intermarried so intensely—all marriage of the period being within the class or with Vicars. It also identifies them as a small class. There were approximately 12,000 Gentlemen in England and Wales in the Seventeenth Century.****

Because of the difference in their culture and social position they did not quickly assimilate or integrate. As a small, compact group, they controlled the favors of the Crown, particularly the positions of Vicar and Church Warden. These people were the new ecclesiastical heads of what was to become, during the reign of Elizabeth, the Church of England.

The Reformation unwittingly precipitated by Henry VIII and carefully developed by Somerset continued for the next fifty years, interrupted now and again by changing political events. An important interruption occurred in 1553, when Mary, the daughter of Catherine, took the throne (1553-1558). As a devout Catholic she made every effort to undo the political consequences of her father's action and the religious reform put into motion by Somerset. Unfortunately for the Catholic cause, she died childless after only five years on the throne.

When Mary's red-headed half sister, Elizabeth, succeeded her, her closest advisor was a man of great intelligence and influence named Cecil. He realized the new economic and social order in the Kingdom wanted a continued emancipation from the Catholic Church. This group had become recipients and beneficiaries of the economic

* Anthony Richard Wagner, *English Genealogy*, 1960.

** Trefelyan, *English Social History*.

*** Anthony Richard Wagner, *English Genealogy*, 1960.

**** Gregory King, 1695

shift from Church to State. Cecil therefore carefully guided Elizabeth, who, like her father, had little religious interest in the matter toward still greater religious reform and political change.

It is apparent that Elizabeth inherited from her Welsh ancestry a certain shrewdness and physical bearing. Like her father, she, too, had red hair, green eyes, and a large head. Later in life she became bald, horribly unpredictable and short tempered. She was, however, a great Queen and with the help of good advisers wisely reigned during Britain's great Golden Age.

During Elizabeth's reign (1558-1603) the migration of Norman and English families, particularly their younger sons, continued into the outer Provinces including North Wales. These people naturally took with them builders, servants, and artisans and built a new culture and way of life. It was during this Elizabethan Renaissance that many of the famous and beautiful half-timbered houses were built in North Wales. The first Ashton ancestor bearing the name Ashton was one of these early builders. He was a member of the Gentry and was named George. Tradition holds he was a famous fiddler, an expert farmer, and an experienced builder. One of his assignments was to teach the Welsh farming and construction. He built at least one of the best preserved and classical examples of half-timbered structures for which North Wales is famous. This structure stands in Trefeglwys and is known as Rhyd y Cawr, meaning deer run.



Rhyd y Cawr at Trefeglwys. Built in approximately 1599 by George Ashton.

The genealogy of Edward Ashton is shown in charts, contained in the Appendix. They are as complete and correct as I have been able to compile them. Others may be able to make additions or corrections. The charts are supported by source material for some of the conclusions. They also contain the known time and place of birth, marriage, and death.

These charts show that in the early Seventeenth Century all the known direct Anglo-Norman ancestors of Edward Ashton lived in the same very small area. Most were within ten miles of Trefeglwys. All of them seem to have been part of the same Elizabethan migration. Even the women were able to read and write. They probably did not speak Welsh. Most of their Welsh neighbors could not read or write even their own language. There is little doubt however that the members of this "quarrelsome race of nightingales"* were fluent enough.

The pictorial map in the Preface shows the area where Edward's early ancestors lived and the charts in the Appendix locate them with reference to the area of their birthdate, marriage, and, where possible, their occupations.

I have no doubt that these people all knew each other well. They were not only part of the same community, they were all of the same culture. All belonged to the established Anglican Church. All were owners of land. Future political, economic and religious events were to transfer many of their descendants into that much larger and unprivileged mass of "common men and women" whose history is generally not known, but who in the end comprise the seed bed which has endured and which ultimately controls the destiny of mankind.

Notes To Chapter One

¹The widow of Henry V was the daughter of Charles VI of France. This King died hopelessly insane at age 54. He had been mad for some time prior to his death. Was this weakness passed on to his descendants through his daughter Catherine? Catherine and Groom Owain's grandson, Henry VII, was "secretive, shy, very tenacious, unscrupulous, nothing of a fighter, but an intriguer of high talent. He was never liked by his subjects."** His son, Henry VIII, indicated by his intemperate and callous disregard for everything but his own personal ambition an unstable mind. When he died at age 51 his

*Edward Donald Ashton of Surrey's characterization.

**Belloc, *A Short History of England*, page 238.

mind had deteriorated so that he, like his great great grandfather, was quite mad. Catherine's son by Henry V, who became Henry VI, like his grandfather, had periods of lunacy in his later years. Henry VI's only son was murdered before he reached his majority.

All of Henry VIII's children, even including Elizabeth, showed signs of instability. Edward, the son of Jane Seymour, was only nine years of age when his father died. He died in his teens. During all this time he was a weakling, controlled and dominated by Protectors. The childless Mary died when she was only forty-two. At the time of her death she was neglected by her husband and distrusted by her subjects.

Elizabeth lived longer than the other two. However able she may have been during her younger years, she was a "drooling" idiot when she died. The "Divine Right of Kings" is subject to the immutable laws of inheritance.

²Some historians of the period point out that many of the Anglo-Norman names in North Wales result from miners and flannel makers being brought into the area during the Reformation period. This is probably true. These were not the ancient Ashton ancestors in Wales.

Chapter Two

Historical Background as it Affected Ashton Ancestors—Rebellion (See Preface)

In the early Seventeenth Century the ever present common man had few rights. Magna Charta was not for him. That revered document was no more than a contract limiting the power of the King and guaranteeing specified rights to the barons and free men. Most of the common men were not the free men identified. Generally, in the Seventeenth Century, he was still little more than a vassal. It was not so with the early Ashton ancestors. As a privileged class they flourished in a glorious period during which there were 70 years of peace. This lasted from the defeat of the Spanish Armada until the coming Rebellion. Shakespeare, at the height of his creative ability, exemplified the intellectual and literary awakening which was stirring men's minds. But even his wonderful caricatures involved, for the most part, Kings, Queens, Nobles, and their families. The common man, except for an occasional glorious Falstaff, was only part of the scenery. But even more important historically than the artistry of men like Shakespeare were men like Calvin who, on the Continent, opened the door to religious thought. This thought was stewing up a potent brew which in later years was to intoxicate the common man until he became the fanatical soldier of his fanatical but also able leader, Oliver Cromwell. But before all this was to happen events moved on stoutly and gracefully but with ominous clouds gathering in the English and Welsh skies.

A backward look gives some understanding of what was happening, and why the storm clouds were gathering. Years before, Elizabeth, who, as a daughter of Ann Boleyn, was by Catholic edict illegitimate, had not been able to accept the Pope even

had she wanted to do so. Such an acceptance would have enabled Rome to award the throne to her cousin Mary Stuart. She therefore persuaded Parliament to restore the supremacy of the monarch "as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things as temporal." The *Revised Prayer Book*, abandoned during Mary's five year Catholic reign, was again brought into use and an Act of Uniformity was passed forbidding any form of public worship other than the one prescribed in that book.

During Mary's reign many clergymen fled to Holland and Switzerland. There they were influenced by the austere reform doctrines of John Calvin. When Elizabeth permitted them to return they were determined to Calvinize or purify the Anglican Church by stripping it of all superstitious ceremonies inherited from Rome. They were the fathers of Puritanism. At first Elizabeth, anxious to have her subjects return, tolerated their activities. However, their fanatical zeal soon compelled her to enforce more strictly the Act of Uniformity. This caused these dissenters to abandon the established Church and meet secretly in conventicles. Many, to escape persecution, went to Holland from whence some later sailed to Plymouth Rock in the New World. The inevitable dissent, which always occurs when men think for themselves, was now abroad in the land. It was religious in its intensity. The Puritans are to Americans the best known. In Scotland the dissent, stimulated by the same causes, but not suppressed, created the Presbyters.

This new born dissent was contained in England and Wales for awhile by acts of suppression such as fining those who did not attend the established Anglican Church. This was a duty of the Church Warden, who was an agent of the Crown. Many of the early Ashton ancestors held this office. The fines were important to the King as the proceeds went directly to him. This was a source of revenue which did not have to be approved by the Parliament. That flourishing body was becoming more and more ambitious in its control of the King's purse.

During this early period the new world offered an open door and fresh start to those who were politically oppressed or persecuted in the name of religion. In the early Seventeenth Century religion and politics went hand in hand (it is still true). The early ancestors of Edward Ashton however remained in their new Welsh home, secure and very much a part of the new society which controlled North Wales.

But events were occurring which would eventually terminate in terror and blood the security provided by the seventy years of peace and stability. The religious stew which had been simmering came to a boil during the reigns of James I and his son Charles. James, who succeeded Elizabeth, surely was aware that his predecessor had caused his mother's execution. He had been raised in Scotland as a strict Calvinist. This was apparently not to his taste. He had fixed and rigid ideas about kingship and came off as a pedantic and foppish King. His great mistake was in failing to realize that the "divine right" to rule had always been a fiction. That claimed right had been grasped by a new ruling class whose members were the economic beneficiaries of the seizure of Catholic properties and prerogatives during the reign of Henry and Elizabeth. The country gentleman, typical of the early Seventeenth Century ancestors of Edward Ashton, held ecclesiastical and local office (often the same) such as Vicars and Church Wardens, and by doing so had acquired the whole business of local government. Henry and Elizabeth had encouraged and relied on them to do so because such rule maintained a balance between the Crown and the old nobility. The members of this antiquated class had about fought themselves to death in the earlier War of the Roses. They were soon to

lose their position and become dinosaurs of history. Their power was slipping rapidly into the hands of the emerging commercial aristocracy, which was to furnish the new Lords of the realm.

The members of this new emerging class were stout supporters of the Crown, but they were now insisting that the Crown in turn support them in maintaining their newly acquired status. James blindly failed to recognize this important fact. His predecessor Elizabeth understood it.

During his reign an event occurred which was more significant in its social, economic, and religious consequences than all the sword brandishing and carnage committed in the names of the Kings, Queens, and Nobles of prior English history. The head of Oxford College of Corpus Christi suggested to James that a new version of the Bible be produced. Three years later, with full support from James, the authorized King James version, written by committees, was printed. It was James' most significant accomplishment. It sold for five shillings and thus became available to the masses. It was an immediate success, and planted seeds which were to change the lives of generations to follow. The common man (and woman) who could read, or who had others read to them, relied upon it and felt free to make their own appraisals of what was meant. After all it was authorized. The meaning was clear enough. No man had more rights than another. All were equal before God. There were no class distinctions. Mankind consisted of a universal brotherhood. Parts of the New Testament even considered women as equals. Here the oppressed and downtrodden found hope and dignity. The absolute right of Kings and the abject position of the common man and woman were about to be examined on a broad scale. Here was the common man's Magna Charta.

Perhaps the Anglican Church could have absorbed and handled the dissent which was developing had not James insisted that he and the Church were the same. As he said, "No Bishop, no King." In a conference in 1604 between the new Puritan leaders and those who accepted the Elizabethan system, he accused the Puritans of aiming "at a Scottish presbytery which agreeth as well with Monarchs as God and the Devil." He stated that if men could decide for themselves about religion they could decide on politics. What James did not know was that his words were prophetically true.

The growing mass of Puritans and Presbyterians now gathered to their ranks large numbers of Independents. They were in turn joined by many of those who objected to James' attempt to control Parliament and the Church without regard for the new religious thought and the new economic and social order. This formed the environment for the Great Rebellion which was to shake and tumble the entire social, economic, and religious structure of England and Wales, and which drastically changed the course of early Ashton history.

When Charles I succeeded his father the die was cast. His closest advisors compounded the problem. Wentworth, later Earl of Stafford; and Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, failed to perceive what was happening. In the end, they, along with Charles, lost their foolish heads, both figuratively and literally.

The Puritans and Presbyterians, by opening the door to dissent, had unwittingly nurtured further dissent, which resulted in hordes of independent religious thinkers. Laud ignored them all. He did this by attempting to enforce a more strict ritual, by suspending and depriving the living of all clergymen who leaned toward Presbyterianism, by forbidding Englishmen who traveled abroad to attend Calvinist services, by prohibiting gospel preaching or the discussion of disputed doctrine from the pulpit, by forbidding the marriage of the clergy (all Ashton ancestors who were Vicars

were married). One of these, John Benbow, Vicar at Trefeglwys, did not marry until after he left his office as Vicar in 1663. Urging the people to make regular confession, and authorizing amusements such as archery and dancing on Sunday afternoon horrified the Puritans. Thousands of them now looked to Massachusetts where the early Pilgrims were now firmly established. They became the settlers of Massachusetts Bay—the founders of Boston.

Thousands of other Puritans, Presbyterians, and Independents, now intoxicated with the newly discovered ideas of human rights, rumbled their discontent against privilege of all kinds. This rumble, when coupled with the growing clamors coming from the new economic order now in control of the House of Commons, soon broke into the terrible roar of open Rebellion.

On a grim day in 1649, Charles' bloody head lay before the shocked London citizens. England now was in the hands of a fanatical mob of zealots. Fortunately, one of these fanatics had remarkable ability and the strength to control. This was Oliver Cromwell. He prevented the sort of thing that happened over 100 years later in the bloody reign of terror following the French Revolution. In a few short years he restored order, eliminated Parliament, and finally ruled as an absolute (Protector), dictator. His rule in England was at least orderly. His persecution and cruel suppression of the Catholics in Ireland however, was inexcusable.¹

During the period of Rebellion which lasted from about 1640 until Cromwell took control in the early 1650's, the historical curtain came down on the English and Welsh stage. During this darkened period records were indifferently kept or destroyed. When Cromwell finally restored order the lifting curtain revealed the debris and ruin of the Rebellion. The specifics of what occurred during this period, especially as it affected the ancestors of Edward Ashton, can only be deduced from the general situation.

In 1640, they were beneficiaries of the Crown. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that in the Rebellion they were Crown supporters. These supporters were the historical Cavaliers of the period. The great mass of revolvers who supported the House of Commons were called Roundheads (taken from the closely cropped heads of Cromwell's soldiers. Cavaliers let their hair and beards grow.) The division tended to be geographical—most of the Cavaliers being in the north and west including Wales, while the Roundheads were mostly in the Midlands and the south, especially in London. The division was also economic, social, and religious. Like the later Civil War in America, brother was often against brother. Whole families were divided. No doubt many of the early ancestors of Edward Ashton were involved in this great Rebellion.

During this period of Rebellion one of Edward's ancestors, John Benbow, was the operator of the only Inn at Trefeglwys. It was and still is called "The Red Lion." His father-in-law, Edward Beversley, was at the same time the Vicar of the Parish Church, located directly across the street. No doubt the Parish Pulpit heard from him concerning the burning issues. He was not a Roundhead sympathizer. He and his congregation were largely supporters of the Crown. Perhaps when his parishoners crossed the street to The Red Lion they expressed themselves in a more uninhibited fashion. No doubt the discussion was often bitter with patrons aligned on both sides. There are few subjects which so freely allow debate as religion. On that subject the debaters are not limited by the facts—just their own opinions.

Unquestionably, some of Edward's ancestors fought with the Cavaliers against Cromwell's zealous and fanatical Roundheads. No doubt some of them gave their lives. One of the final battles was fought in Wales. Perhaps a few were sympathizers in

Cromwell's cause. It is not likely that they fought in his Army. The Cavaliers maintained military control of the west—until the final collapse of their Army.

At the close of the Rebellion, and after order was restored, it was apparent that great changes had taken place. The status of "Gentleman" attached to the ancestral names was beginning to disappear. The Rebellion practically eliminated the old nobility so that the title began to lose its class meaning. It persisted however as a status for another generation. Today it is used, along with esquire, only as a salutation in letters and as a description of a man's qualities.

When the mists cleared it appeared that a few of Edward Ashton's ancestors were still holding their vicarages. Many undoubtedly had left the area—some undoubtedly to the West Indies or Virginia—both havens for Cavaliers who were not welcome in Puritan Massachusetts. The history of the Cavaliers, as it affected early American Revolutionary history, is fascinating. But that is another story. It is enough to say that Virginia and the West Indies furnished more great American leaders and thinkers than the entire rest of the colonies. They were the descendants of the flower of England. Puritan New England may have furnished the moral integrity and discipline for the new Republic, but it was the descendants of the Cavaliers who supplied most of the brilliant thought which created the great golden age of the American Constitutional period.

The Cavaliers (land owners) lost in the American Civil War, just as they had in England two hundred years earlier—and for some of the same reasons. Until the Civil War the intellectual political spirit of the earlier American Constitutional period had been mostly Southern. These descendants of the Colonial Cavaliers were the principal architects of the United States Constitution. It was the age of Jefferson, Madison, Washington, Hamilton, et al. These men were concerned about restricting the power of the new Federal Government. Some of them thought that as proposed it was too strong. None of them would have supported the Constitution had it not contained the Ninth and Tenth Amendments restricting the Federal government to strict delegated powers—reserving all other powers to the people and the states. The later Civil War and its ominous prelude, the Utah War, killed these amendments. It was aided by judicial interpretation beginning with *McCullough vs. Maryland* and ending up with a host of "New Deal" cases which have completely emasculated the amendments.

The predominant influence of the Old South in the early Federal government is clear. Before the Civil War ten of the sixteen Presidents of the United States were from the Old South. Since that time beginning with Grant only two were Southern, Wilson and Carter. Certainly a Missourian—Truman and Texans—Eisenhower and Johnson do not qualify as Southerners.

The erosion away of the Ninth and Tenth Amendments must have Jefferson, Madison, Calhoun and Brigham Young "Turning over in their graves."

The clearing mists also revealed that many of the lands previously owned by Edward Ashton's ancestors now appeared in the names of others. I have not researched in detail how this occurred. It could have been caused by several things. Cromwell's soldiers, who were now unwillingly out of work, and often not paid, joined some of the other religious zealots, called Levelers (because of their desire to restructure the economic and social system on a communistic basis). They believed that the unoccupied lands of the realm were subject to communal occupation and reasoned that the beheaded Charles traced his right to William the Conqueror, "with whom a crowd of nobles and adventurers had come into England, robbing by force the mass of the people of their ancient rights in Saxon days." They became known as "Diggers." Cromwell,

who respected order and property rights, restrained them. He said, "a nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman, that is a good interest of the land and a great one." He did not restrain, however, the fining of supporters of Charles, and permitting those fined to pay off by transferring their property interests to others. (The owner of Rhyd y Cawr, built by George Ashton in the early 1600's, was fined for giving support to the Crown.) Nor did he prevent Parliament in 1654 from meeting the large expense of the war with Holland by confiscating the estates of all Royalists (Cavaliers) within the Kingdom. The rich Royalists bribed the officials and kept their lands. While those less well to do lost their property. For one reason or another many of the Cavalier Ashton ancestors, supporters of Charles, lost the Welsh lands which they had obtained during the Reformation, and many apparently left the area.

England soon had enough of Cromwell and his Puritan discipline. Long before he died the same powerful economic group that put him in power was scheming to restore the Monarchy and Parliament. After Cromwell's death late in 1658, his two sons and a Rump Parliament called by them, tried to rule. But by early 1660 everyone, including the sons, welcomed the exiled son of Charles I to the throne of his ancestors. Those who had grasped new power and property, including some in North Wales, insisted on protection. The new King, anxious to please, pledged that "all property confiscated during the recent troubles be secured to its present owners." He also "guaranteed religious toleration to all persons who would refrain from disturbing the public peace." (He was not able to make good on this last promise.) This meant that Cavalier supporters who had lost their lands and privileges had to start over—often as part of the mass of that growing class—"the proletariat"—made up of the growing numbers of common men.

The old nobility was now all but gone. The new ruling class, generally commercial in nature, was about to form the aristocracy which was to rule England for the next 300 years. The first members of the new ruling class were the new rich who had profited from the Rebellion, even as the earlier Ashton ancestors had gained privilege in the Reformation. Many of them were merchants from London, the Midlands, and Southern England. Few, if any, were Welsh ancestors of Edward Aston.

Notes to Chapter Two

¹Sir Arthur Ashton had been sent by Charles I to defend Drogheda in Ireland against Cromwell's invading forces. He was in full command of that bastion when Cromwell laid siege in his efforts to suppress the Catholics in Ireland. Sir Arthur was a soldier of fortune from the ancient family of Gilbert of Aston (Ashton) in the reign of

Henry II (1154-1189). They were the Lords of Aston near Sutton in Cheshire—a short distance north of Montgomeryshire where North Wales and England share a common boundary. Sir Arthur had a wooden leg—the result of his military career on the Continent. In 1640, at the beginning of the Rebellion, he was appointed by the Earl of Stafford, Colonel General of one of the Brigades of the Royal Army and “ten days later chosen Sargeant Major General of that part of the Army which attended the King’s (Charles I) person.”*

When Cromwell invaded Ireland shortly after Charles lost his head, Sir Arthur was in command at Drogheda. He and the people resisted the siege stubbornly—so stubbornly that in the end the embittered Cromwell put all to fire and the sword. To this day Cromwell is hated with lasting bitterness in Ireland. They will never forgive nor forget.

I cannot tie this Ashton to George—nor have I tried. The fact that his ancestors served Henry II establishes that they were not Welsh. Henry was—a Norman—and invaded Wales fruitlessly three times. The fact that Ashtons of Cheshire were a prominent family and therefore probably Norman—Aston being a Norman spelling.

*J. D’Alton, *Barrister at Law*, “History of Drogheda”, 1863.

Chapter Three

Historical Background—as it Affected Edward Ashton's Ancestors— The Restoration (See Preface)

The character and religious inclinations of Charles II were foreseeable. He was a Stuart by male descent from his great, great grandfather, Henry Stuart (Lord Darnley). All his other ancestors were Tudors. His great, great grandmother, Mary, Queen of Scots, was a descendant of Henry VII. Even Henry Stuart carried Tudor blood. As always the past was a prologue of the future. As an impressible child Charles had heard the bloody tales of the violent and impassioned lives of his ambitious scheming ancestors. He knew that the original Tudor, groom Owain, was the first to lose his head. This occurred during the War of the Roses. He also knew that Owain's grandson, Henry VII, had murdered, pillaged, and schemed until he became the first Tudor King. He must have known that his great, great grandmother, Mary, while in Scotland, probably helped plan the murder of her weakling husband, his own great, great grandfather. He was also aware that Mary, in her turn, was beheaded on the order of her cousin, Queen Elizabeth, and that Elizabeth's mother, Ann Boleyn, had been beheaded by Henry VIII. He no doubt had nightmares about his own father's grizzly head lying on the block before the shocked London mob. He knew that all their bloody heads had rolled to the beat of the political drum and that all this mad butchery had been done in a struggle for power and in the name of religion.

Is it any wonder he was dissolute and corrupt? It is likely that his controlling ambition was to extract all the privileges and prerogatives of Kingship without assum-

ing any of the hard duties. *As could be expected his loyalty to England was questionable. He no doubt hated the Cromwellian nonconformists who had killed his father and driven him with his mother into exile.* Nevertheless, he probably, at least in the *beginning of his reign, planned to avoid rocking the boat.* He did not want to "lose his head" as his father had done.

It is apparent that when he came to the throne England had grown tired of the Puritanical discipline which had been engendered by the fanatics he abhorred. These zealots had eliminated everything that was fun. Even the festivities of Christmas had been prohibited. With the return of the Monarchy and Parliament and pendulum made one of its customary swings from one pole to the other. The Merry Old England of the past was reborn. Maypoles once again flourished and fast horses once again ran for the pleasure of both the crowds and the King. As Winston Churchill noted:

*The mass of the nation in all classes preferred the lax rule of the sinners to the rigorous discipline of the saints . . . They did not wish to be the people of God in the sense of a Puritan God. They descended with thankfulness from the superhuman levels to which they had been painfully hoisted. **

Most of the people, especially in London, indulged Charles in his profligacy, even seeming to approve his adventures with mistresses so long as they were Protestant. One of these, Nell Gwyn, with the Welsh name, was lustily cheered on the streets. The Continental Catholics such as Barbara Villiers and Louise de Keronaille were also tolerated. Charles' unfortunate and ignored wife, Catherine of Braganza, remained childless. There was even a strong suspicion that the new King had an unnatural fondness for handsome young men.

All of this licentiousness cost money and Charles stooped to the abysmal level of accepting annual and substantial "loans" from his cousin, Louis XIV, who was rapidly becoming the most powerful ruler in Europe. The "loans" (never paid) in reality bribes, were to restrain England from interfering with Louis' Catholic and political ambitions on the Continent against the Protestant Dutch. Ironically this failure to interfere, by giving the English a comparatively peaceful period, helped England and Wales more than it did France and Louis XIV. Peaceful nations in the end are the inevitable beneficiaries of warring nations destructive efforts against each other. It has always been so and especially so in modern times.

The return of the Monarchy meant the harrassed and looted Cavaliers, who were so imposed upon during and after the Rebellion, regained some of their political influence—but not their confiscated lands. Thirty years had passed since Charles I so that the new Cavaliers were mostly sons of the old dispossessed Gentry. These men became the nucleus of what was to become the developing Tory Party in Parliament. Their opponents, the Whigs, were mostly sons of the old Cromwell supporters. This marked the beginning of the two party system in England and Wales and later in the United States.

With the Resoration some of the early ancestors of Edward Ashton who were Crown supporters again found favor—this time in renewed ecclesiastical appoint-

*Winston S. Churchill, *History of the English Speaking Peoples*.

ments. In 1669, John Benbow, son of the Village Innkeeper (The Red Lion) became the Vicar of both Trefeglwys and Llangurig. David Lloyd, the son of David Lloyd from Cardigan, like other Ashton ancestors before him, was a student at Oxford. That University, except under Cromwellian duress, had always been a supporter of the Crown. In 1673, Hugh Wilson became a Vicar of both Trefeglwys and Llangurig. His brother Richard was listed at the Llandidloes Assizes in 1662 as a Gentleman and a member of the Grand Jury. So, too was John Savage, whose brother Andrew became Vicar of Llanbrynmaur in 1663. Evan Bowen had been a Vicar at Llangurig. His son became Mayor of Llandidloes. Evan had a very illustrious Welsh ancestry which set him apart from most Welshmen. It may explain why he intermarried with those who came into Wales as a preferred class. An inspection of the genealogy charts will show that during this period many other ancestors of Edward Ashton were Church Wardens, Church Guards, and Church Economis.

While the Restoration returned some of these people to ecclesiastical and political position, it did not restore their confiscated lands; nor did it return to North Wales many who had fled or emigrated because of the changes which took place during the Rebellion.

Charles II lasted till 1685. During his reign (or frolic) his dissolute example spread to his subjects, particularly in London. The new Cavalier's Parliament tried to correct his deplorable example and its effect on the new religious-political aristocracy which was gaining ascendancy. The Act of Uniformity was renewed and strict statutes were imposed, including the Clarendon Code, which made conformity a condition to office holding. *The Prayer Book* was improved and all clergymen were required "to conform to the Church of England as it is now established." One-fifth of the clergy refused to comply and were deprived of their livings. The great John Milton, who had been patronized by Cromwell, was offered a curacy, but refused to take the oath of compliance. The Ashton curates apparently complied—at least none of them gave up office. Perhaps John Benbow did. He married Hester Jarman after he resigned as vicar—see Chart E.

Again, ironically, the dissolute King was the only champion of tolerance and freedom. John Bunyon, Baptist Preacher, was imprisoned because he would not take the oath of supremacy. He was twice released by the King's sweeping edicts of indulgence. Later he wrote the most popular book of the period—*Pilgrim's Progress*. It, along with the King James Bible, furnished most of the reading for the common man—that is, for the common man who could read—pityfully few, and even fewer common women. A brief reading of that book (if boredom doesn't interfere) gives a frightening taste of what Puritan England was like. (In my case boredom interceded)

When Charles II granted indulgences, excusing conformity, he got onto dangerous ground. The new Aristocracy, fat with the benefits derived from the shift in power, began to distrust him and saw a new danger to its Protestant emancipation from Rome. In 1685, Charles fortunately avoided the prospect of another Civil War by conveniently dying. The last rites were performed by a Catholic Priest who was hustled up the back stairs of St. James. Charles' brother James, who had been Duke of York, now became King James II. He was challenged briefly by Charles' bastard son, the Duke of Monmouth, who, now for the first time, claimed that his mother had been married to Charles. Monmouth had plenty of support because the new King's wife was a devout Catholic, while Monmouth's mother was an indifferent but strongly identified Protestant. Monmouth failed and lost his head.

James at first was tolerated even though he publicly practiced the Catholic faith, including participating in the forbidden mass. This was endured by Protestant England and Wales because it was assumed that James, who was fifty-two, and who had no children by his Catholic wife, had little likelihood of ever having any. This assumption proved to be incorrect.

The Protestants in England, who were now in full control, were already looking to Mary, the heir presumptive, or Ann, daughters of James II by an earlier Protestant marriage with Ann Hyde while he was Duke of York. Ann was Clarendon's daughter, and unbeknown to her father had been the Duke's mistress until a few weeks prior to the birth of Mary. Chancellor Clarendon pretended not to share the Duke's disregard for marital fidelity. He reported to Charles that "he had much rather his daughter be the Duke's whore than his wife—(and) an act of Parliament should be immediately passed for cutting off her head." He did not mean what he said. This was to counteract the suspicion that he had arranged the marriage in order to make his daughter a Queen. His daughter disappointed him by dying of cancer at an early age. The Duke then married his Catholic Queen, who upset all their plans by giving birth to a son.

Unreliable and biased Protestant legend has it that a child was smuggled into the palace in a warming pan. Those present at the birth were supposedly only Catholics. The Archbishop of Canterbury was not invited nor were Mary and Ann—a strict custom. The legend has persisted. It has no historical significance here because, for whatever reason, the son was not accepted by the Protestant English and Welsh and lived his life as a guest in France and is known in history as "The Younger Pretender" to distinguish him from his father who became "The Old Pretender." They were both probably the legitimate heirs to the British Crown, but they were Catholic and in Protestant England and Wales that was anathema.

The Army, Parliament, and the Protestants now conspired with William of Orange, husband of Mary, to come to England and take the Crown jointly along with his wife. John Churchill, ancestor of England's great World War Prime Minister, was one of the chief conspirators. William also carried Tudor blood, being a grandson of Charles I. He and Mary arrived in 1689, whereupon James II fled with his family to the Continent. Protestants and Parliament were now firmly in control. This became known as the bloodless "Glorious Revolution."

The literature of the period reflects the immorality and cynicism of the time. John Milton, a holdover from the Cromwellian period, still reflected the disciplined and religious thought of the nonconformists. His great *Paradise Lost* abounds with religious thought, some of it reflected in the theology which was later embraced by Edward Ashtan in the Nineteenth Century.

Perhaps the greatest literary mind of the new era was Jonathan Swift. He, like John Bunyan, was a curate, but unlike Bunyan was Anglican, atheistic, and cynical. Surely he was one of literature's greatest misanthropes. How he ever presided as a Vicar is difficult to comprehend. One Anglican clergyman observed.

The place he got by wit and rhyme
And many ways most odd,
And might a bishop be in time
Did he believe in God

The diaries of Samuel Pepys, even as expurgated, give a sad view of the England

and Wales of Charles II. Modern pornographic literature would have fit into the period without raising any eyebrows.

The corruption and immorality of the time was most evident in the growing upper class. The common man did not have the same opportunity for corruption as his more privileged brother. He did, however, without religious stimulation, often sink to abject levels of personal immorality. Among this class however were still those few who were the best hope of mankind for a religious reawakening.

The Durants in commenting on the morality of the time, particularly as it effected the common man, observed:

Virtue, piety and marital fidelity became forms of rural innocence, and the most successful adulterer became the hero of the hour. Religion had literally lost caste; it belonged to tradesmen and peasants; most preachers were put down as long-faced, long-eared, long-winded hypocrites and bores. The only religion fit for a Gentleman was a polite Anglicanism wherein the master attended Sunday services to lend support to the Chaplain who kept the villagers in fear of hell, and who said grace with due brevity from the foot of his master's board.*

The Church records of Trefeglwys (the early home of most of Edward Ashton's ancestors during the Restoration period), reveal the indifference and disregard for the discipline of the nonconformists. Prior to the Rebellion and vicarage records appear to be quite complete. During the Rebellion there is a void. The Restoration reveals indifferent attention. Vicar Hugh Wilson did a good job, but Vicar William Lloyd's records are sloppy. Both he and Vicar Williams were charged with not accounting properly for the tithes. From John Benbow until the Glorious Revolution there were five different Vicars. Apparently the job had become unattractive.

It is certain that many of the citizens of Trefeglwys, were often not like them, only because of their limited resources. During this period the Parish records reveal the birth of many "natural" children. If it is any comfort I can record that none of the ancestors shown on the charts included in the Appendix were so born even though they were sometimes so conceived. That is not to say that some on the charts did not have illegitimate children—because they did. These children are not ancestors. One of them was one of the great scholars of a later Welsh period.

The new indifference touched the Ashton ancestors in Wales. In the 1600's one of them, a David Lloyd, was turned out of his curacy as a result of his dealings in the magic art and "obliged to live by practicing physic." He had probably learned his magic privately while at Oxford "during the profane times of Charles II when many vices greatly prevailed." He had assumed the title of Sir and was the most colorful Sorcerer in the entire area of North Wales. It is probable that his presence in Trefeglwys was because of his ouster from Cardigan.

David's son married a daughter of Christopher Hall, the Church Guard at the old Anglican Church at Trefeglwys. I wonder how this keeper of the community's morals got along with his daughter's father-in-law. Another early Ashton ancestor, Edward Pryce, also was a Sorcerer.

*Will and Ariel Durant, *The Age of Louis XIV.*

John Ashton, who married Ann Benbow, also was charged with controlling the conformity of the community. He held the austere Crown position of Church Warden. His wife's father Vicar Benbow. Probably, with the exception of David Lloyd and Edward Pryce, all Ashton ancestors during the Seventeenth Century were conformists. Even David's activities were not of a typical religious order. During this period some, typical of their time, probably became quite indifferent. It is unlikely, however, that they departed from one fold to join another. That was to take place later during the religious enthusiasm of the Eighteenth Century, best marked in Wales by the Wesleyan movement.

Chapter Four

From the Glorious Revolution to Waterloo and its Effect on Ashton Ancestors (See Preface)

The advent of William and Mary marked the final victory of the new Aristocracy over the Crown and is known in history as the Revolutionary Settlement. The Revolutionary Settlement put into statutory form the Declaration of Rights, which became the well known *Bill of Rights*. It also recapitulated all the points which transferred from the Crown to the Parliament (which, in reality, was the Aristocracy) power over the right to imprison, to control the Judiciary, the purse strings, religion, and the Army. It also barred Catholics from the Throne. This, of course, left the Crown stripped of everything but "pomp and circumstance."

The position of the Crown was now taken by a succession of strong Ministers, who usually wound up fighting with Parliament, even as the Crown had done in previous years. The first was Marlborough, the ancestor of Winston Churchill, who in his *History of the English Speaking Peoples*, shows a remarkable bias in defending Marlborough from the charges that he was a traitor and dipped into Army funds for his own benefit. The historical fact is that it was Marlborough's double dealing that turned the Army of James II over to William and Mary. This was especially distasteful because Marlborough had received advancements in the Army from James II, when James was Duke of York. These favors were largely because the Duke had made Arabella, Marlborough's sister, his mistress. From that time until the Parliament ousted him because of his misuse of Army funds he was "King Pin" in England.

During the reign of Ann, who succeeded William and Mary, Churchill and his wife Sarah were in almost complete control. This control was only possible because of Ann's

patent weaknesses. She was strangely and fully dominated by Sarah who had a violent temper and a brilliant mind. The Marlborough Churchill, who started out as a Tory, did not find it difficult to switch to the Whigs when it suited his purposes. He had switched before.

He used his great power at home to wage war on the Continent. There he became the greatest General of his age, being Commander of both the English and Dutch Armies. It was a glorious military period for Churchill and it made him wealthy and Duke of Marlborough. About all it did for the common men in England and Wales was give them the privilege of spilling their blood on foreign soil. It did obtain for England, Gibraltar, Minorca, and Nova Scotia, but most historians charge it up as a deplorable waste.

It affords another historical example of war as an inevitable prelude to later moral, economic, and spiritual depression. Even the winners, perhaps especially the winners, reap the whirlwind.

Even flattered and controlled Ann finally became disgusted and at the insistence of Parliament removed Marlborough from control and Sarah from the Palace. But poor Ann had to have someone stronger than herself to lean on. Soon Sarah's place was taken by a new favorite, Mrs. Masham. Following Marlborough and the ensuing Peace of Utrecht, Lord Bolingbroke became the power, not "behind the Throne" but well in front of it.

During all this time the exiled James II and his son, the Young Pretender, the probable legitimate heirs, were supported by a large following of Jacobites and busy Jesuits who were seeking another Restoration. When Ann died in 1714, Bolingbroke hastened to summon the Young Pretender as "James III" to England. But the Duke of Shrewsbury, a Tory, outmaneuvered him by causing The Privy Council to take the Oath of Allegiance to Ann's heir according to the Protestant Act of Succession. He then issued a proclamation which prohibited The Pretender from landing in England. This made any attempt by the Jacobites an act of treason. The Young Pretender, had he been willing to abandon Catholicism, might have prevailed anyway. But he had other problems—not the least of which was his excessive drinking.

England's new King under the Act of Succession was the son of George Louis, Elector of Hanover, whose wife, Princess Sophia carried Tudor blood as a granddaughter of James I. This King became George I. The real ruler was Parliament which was now dominated for a long period by Robert Walpole, who succeeded Bolingbroke. Bolingbroke had barely escaped with his life after his abortive attempt to restore "James III" from France. The new King was not stupid but he was a German bore. He could not speak English and disliked England. But as he was only a puppet anyway his lack of interest served everyone very well, particularly Walpole.

The rest of the sequential history up to Waterloo, as it affected the Ashton ancestors, is too well known to reiterate here. Except for a short period when George III stubbornly and foolishly tried to exercise Kingly powers, Parliament was in control. It in turn was dominated by a series of great Ministers. Following Walpole were the great Pitts—father and son. Had the blundering King listened to them he might have avoided the American Revolution.

The period from Walpole to the death of the younger Pitt—just before Waterloo, saw the final development of the Aristocratic State. This had not occurred since ancient Carthage and late Middle Age Venice. Curiously and probably significantly all three were Maritime Powers. In the Aristocratic State, wealth and the class which controls it

are obeyed, and what is more important, are revered. It seems, as historians have noted, that laws are made either that good men may live among bad or that rich men may live among poor. The second type of laws are those of an Aristocratic State. When one adds to this the fact that the laws were administered by courts and lawyers who were usually members of the Aristocracy it becomes easy to understand what happened. In such a situation there develops a fixed peasantry and wealthy class which grow further and further apart until the dispossessed become little more than servants. Finally, there is created a vast proletariat which is nothing more than a mass of men destitute of property and deprived of human dignity. This occurred in England, and even more in Wales, until the landholding small gentry and the freeholding Yeomen of the Seventeenth Century were practically eliminated.*

The same pattern and phenomena is developing in our modern society. One hundred years ago Americans were relatively equal—economically and socially. During the last one hundred years, and especially during the past fifty, power has shifted sharply from the people to those who govern. It will continue to do so, as it always has, until the gulf between the people and those who control will become insufferable. When that occurs there will be some sort of revival which will be religious in its intensity. This will stir the dispossessed to action—result, some sort of revolution followed by reform or another medieval period. History has a tedious way of repeating itself. When it occurs, it will be the productive core of society that rebels, not the unproductive malcontents.**

The Acts, which, more than any other, contributed to the impoverishment of these small freeholders, were those which caused the enclosure of the commons. These laws bear a frightening analogy to the modern land use bills which also withdraw land from use and to the Federal Government's constant withdrawal of more and more lands. Prior to the Enclosure Acts local freeholders used the commons to forage their animals. The turf was used for fuel. The commons belonged to and were used by the people. Under the Enclosure Acts they gradually came into the possession of a few large landowners where they remained as great parkway estates. Modern day environmentalists would have approved. In the fifty years before the accession of George III (1760) 300,000 acres were enclosed. In the next span of a life-time, 7,000,000 more were withdrawn—one-third of the useful land which was taken from the common man and which went to swell the power of the new capitalistic power (the government). The dispossessed, competing with each other for a wage, were soon reduced to little more than peonage.

A consideration of the ancestors of Edward Ashton in North Wales during this period sadly reflects the adverse effects of these events. In the early Seventeenth Century they were members of the gentry, free men, Vicars, scholars; and a very vital and independent part of the British society. By 1815, many of them, together with most of their countrymen, had been reduced into a vast proletariat, which was to furnish the cheap labor for the coming Industrial Revolution.

I have examined the records of the area around Trefeglwys compiled during this period to determine how these events specifically effected the Ashton ancestry. The

*Hilair Belloc, Substance taken from *A Shorter History of England*.

**Written in 1968.

following quotations will show how they suffered as they were fined, harassed, and prevented from using the commons as their ancestors had done for generations.

The following are Grand Jury Presentments:

The Presentment of John Smith, Petty Constable of Glyntrefnant and his five men. Do present John William for not fencing a meadow adjoining the common (many more names omitted). Also John Ashton et al. of the same. Fine ten shillings each.

The Presentment of Edward Chapman, Petty Constable of the Township of Ystreedunod and his five men: Do present the several persons as follows for cutting turfs: Revd. Evan Jones (even the clergy were in violation) . . . Edward Lewis, Bronygiver, Edward Ashton, Cwmllyan et al. fined each one shilling.

The Grand Jury presented the following: We do present Valentine Ashton and John Stephens for inclosing encroaching the High Road leading from Cefn Barrach to Carno in the said Manor, unless opened in one month. (Valentine fenced off the road which had been cut through his part of the common, so his cattle would not get onto the newly constructed road to the Manor). He was fined one pound.

Edward Savage received the same fine for the same reason:

The Presentment of John Beedle and David Jones, Petty Constable of the Township of Bodaioch . . . John Ashton for inclosing a part of the commons of Long Hill adjoining Esquire Easton's land. Fined 7/6 . . . Edward Savage for inclosing part of Gwer' adavith adjoining Squire Tinsley. Fined 7/6.

The Presentment of Richard Mills, Petty Constable of Glynn Treffinant. We present John Aston of Cusulvia (Geseilfa) for inclosing one acre or thereabouts upon Jarman's Hill. Fined 2/6.

The Presentment of Andrew Jones for the Township of Eskireth and his five men: Do present . . . David Lloyd for inclosing about three acres . . . in the said Township joining Tylottin. Fined 7/6.

The Presentment of Edward Davies, Petty Constable . . . and his five men: We do present . . . David Jarman for (constructing) a cottage on the old common. Fined 40 shillings.

The following Presentment sounds like a roll call of the 'Ashton' ancestry. It contains the names of approximately 100 people, all charged with 'cutting Turfs' upon a common called Penycerrig: David Lloyd . . . David Jarman . . . Edward Ashton . . . Thoms Davies . . . David Davies . . . et al. All fined one shilling.*

**Montgomeryshire Collections*, Vols. 12, 15, 48, and 54.

The foregoing Presentments occurred in the Eighteenth Century, and all occurred within a few miles of Trefeglwys. The commons had not only been used extensively by the people, the people also had a sort of quaint and traditional homestead right. Inasmuch as one of the early Ashton ancestors established Geseilfa on Jarman's Hill by this method. I have included the following account. I believe it refers to Geseilfa because of the geographical references and also because I was advised by Edward Donald Ashton that Geseilfa was built in accordance with this quaint old prerogative:

The Parish of Trefeglwys, in the country of Montgomeryshire, is about five miles long by two miles broad. It consists for the most part of a hill, lying between a river and one of its tributaries. The hill rises to about 900 feet above sea level, and contains no unenclosed land . . . On this hill most of the cottage holdings are to be found, usually in some sheltered hollow near a spring or a running stream . . . Previous to the Enclosure Act, passed early in the Nineteenth Century, the greater part of the hill was open . . . The unenclosed portion of the hill was used as a common pasture by all of the farmers whose land adjoined it, and the amount of stock each one was allowed to feed on it was roughly regulated by the size of his holding. (Almost identical to the condition of Utah Ranchers who have Taylor Grazing rights on the public domain.)

About 120 years ago (written many years ago) a number of the poorer peasantry began settling on the common land. There was a general understanding that if a house was raised during the night so that the builders were able to cause smoke to issue from the chimney by sunrise, they thereby established a right of possession which none could gainsay.

Timber in the neighboring wood was abundant and cheap, so an intending squatter had little difficulty in procuring the materials for his cottage. With the help of a few friends he procured sufficient wood for the framework, and then selected a convenient site in a sheltered spot with a southern aspect, and marked down the foundations of his future dwelling. When all the preparations were made he gathered together all the help he could, and in the dusk of the evening had all his materials conveyed to the selected spot. Rough stone work was laid to form the foundation and chimney end of the cottage, and then the framework was quickly set up. The panels were interwoven with stout laths and covered with clay, over which was smeared a coating of lime plaster while a roof of thatch completed the edifice. Windows were not for a time considered necessary, but the entrance was carefully secured by a stout door. Then just as dawn was breaking, a fire was kindled on the hearth, and the curl of smoke above the rude chimney told the workers that they could relax their efforts. *

The massive proletariat which developed after the Revolutionary Settlement in 1689 created a condition which resulted in interesting developments. The religious and

*R. V. Sayce, *Montgomeryshire Collections*, "Popular Enclosures and the One Night House," quoting from the *English Peasantry and Enclosures*, Vol. 47, page 109.

spiritual awakening which is common to the down trodden and the poor, and which, in truth and in fact, is literally their salvation, reasserted itself, just as it had done over one hundred years before following the Reformation. However, beginning with the Reign of Charles II, and largely because his profligacy and the Conformity Acts of Parliament which made religion static, many Englishmen and Welshmen became indifferent and atheistic. Religion, while still deeply seated, particularly in the hearts of the common man, was largely replaced by scholasticism. Charles II must be given much of the credit for this intellectual development. He favored and supported it.

The scholastic influence was limited to those who were educated—who read Hobbes, Berkeley, Newton, Bacon, Descartes, Spinoza, and others. The resulting development of philosophy and mathematics opened the door to further enquiry, resulting in the first beginnings of physics, chemistry, biology, medicine, and geology. This new knowledge challenged traditional theology and all forms of ancient knowledge on all fronts. It also was an important and necessary factor in bringing on the Industrial Revolution. Finally, the large army of the dispossessed formed the material for the coming Industrial Revolution. Without this large laboring element to implement the accumulated capital of the Aristocracy, and the new scientific "know how," that Revolution would not have occurred when it did.

Prior to, and dominating every important development in history, is something which stirs the minds and perhaps more important, the feelings of the people. The mind of man eventually controls his environment. The movement of the French Huguenots and the thinking of French thinkers, particularly Arouet, who wrote under the name of Voltaire, planted seeds which stirred, first in the minds of intellectuals and later in the minds and hearts of the common man, a renewed teaching of human dignity and equality. The teaching at the so-called intellectual level radiated from France. By 1780 the French upper class and the liberated professional people were subject to its influence, and the young men at the French Universities were under its spell.

This thinking, which was not originally religiously oriented but scholastically induced, spread to America, primarily through the efforts of people like the atheistic Thomas Paine, where it became a part of the Declaration of Independence, "all men are created equal." It stormed through France in the French Revolution. Rousseau wrote his *Declaration of The Rights of Man*, which laid down the "natural and unprescribable" right of every citizen to liberty, equality, property, and security. It expressed the "unquerable hope" of humanity. While in the beginning this was an intellectual scholastic movement, this was to change.

In the Nineteenth Century the French language in England had been largely replaced, at all levels, by English. French still, however, was the common language of those who were educated. These people spread the work through the leaders of "hungry" ears about equality, human dignity, and respect for the rights of man—rights which he had forgotten existed, but which he instinctively understood. This caused an attack on traditional organizations of all kinds which were based on privilege and class superiority.

It was in the proletarian masses that this new religious movement "took fire," just as the teaching of Christianity had formented among the slave poor in Rome 1700 years before, and as it had been reawakened for a time during and following the Reformation. It was through the efforts of such men as Wesley that the word was now spread. Soon

all England and Wales were struggling against privilege of all kinds. This was especially true in Wales where the volatile and quick spirit of the people was particularly adapted to religious revival. By the time Mormon Missionaries, as part of an American early Nineteenth Century religious revival, reached Wales in the 1840's, the people were afire with intellectual and religious curiosity. A few years earlier few would have listened or understood.

From this intellectual awareness and respect for the rights of man the proletariat, religiously motivated once again, began to change. It was from the more successful of these people that the new middle class arose. This middle class was to become the "soul of the new intensity of religion" which Wesley and men like him had revived. Without the great revival the common man would still be at the very abject level from which he was stirred in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.

In the Wesleyan period one of Edward Ashton's ancestors, Athelustan Savage, his maternal grandfather, became an original trustee of the Wesleyan Church in Arwystli. These first trustees were: John Davies, Rhyd-lydau; Zacharias Davies, Gffiaw; Evan Jones, Yeoman; David Swancott, Hendrefach; Evan Pryce, Ty Nant; Athelustan Savage, Llanidloes; and Richard Pryce, Neuadd Newydd. This Pryce was also a brother of Mary Pryce, a direct ancestor of Edward Ashton, as shown on Chart.

This assemblage of men represented the very best of the intellectuals amongst the common people. They were representatives of the growing class of people who were forsaking the Church of England, and under the protection of the Toleration Act, were seeking God in their own way. Up till now and probably because of the conformity laws most of Edward Ashton's ancestors had been conformists.

Athelustan was about 40 years of age at this time. It is certain that he knew the great John Wesley personally, for Wesley was at Llanidloes and Carno on numerous occasions on his preaching tours into Wales. On these occasions he often stayed at Llanidloes. In 1764 he wrote on a window pane at Tythynn his name and "In the name of Jesus, peace be to this house." For at least seventeen years he frequented the area around the home of Athelustan. Wesley died in 1791 in his eighty-eighth year. When Wesley died Athelustan was 50. It may have been the Savage home where Wesley stayed when he was near Llanidloes and may explain why Athelustan was the original trustee from Llanidloes representing the Wesleyan movement.

It is also interesting to note that the twice widowed Mary Benbow, (See Chart) wife of David Lloyd, whose second husband was Charles Ashton of Geseilfa, and whose third husband was William Williams, frequently entertained Howell Harris, one of the early founders of Methodism. This was probably contemporaneous with Athelustan's nonconformity activity. It marks Mary as an interesting person. Methodism and Wesleyanism are both historically practically the same—Wesley's activities created both.

At about the same time that Richard Pryce and Athelustan were active in the Wesleyan movement, Athelustan's brother Edward and Richard Pryce's brother became well known as Sorcerers. Pryce was not as famous as Edward Savage, who was:

One of the best known of the Sorcerers born in the year 1759. He resided at Fehn Fawr, and subsequently at Troed-y-lon . . . He was a small farmer, and herb doctor, and gunsmith, but derived his chief source of income from his more superstitious fellow mortals who made pilgrimages to Llangurig from

the neighboring communities, that they might have the benefit of the great man's advice.*

Edward Savage's grandson followed in his grandfather's footsteps. It is recorded:

The mantle of Savage, with a double portion of the old man's skill, shrewdness, and intelligence, has fallen on his grandson, who resides at the family residence, Troed-y-lon, and enjoys a comfortable income from his various callings of herb doctor, gunsmith, and conjurer. He is no niggard in his manner of living, being what is generally called 'a free jolly fellow' and strongly addicted to the sports of coursing and shooting.**

This was ancestor Edward Ashton's second cousin, and his contemporary in Wales. Other than having common ancestors they do not appear to have had much else in common.

The interesting fact that these people were sorcerers should not disappoint anyone. Sorcery was still quite well accepted in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries, as it had been a generation before when David Lloyd practiced the "physic art." Those who were Sorcerers were leaders in the community and were the "learned" of their day. They knew the magical cures, not all of which were magical. They were, to a large extent, the keepers of what little knowledge existed. They were consulted for advice and the community often relied on their judgment. These were days of great superstition and sorcerers were often wise and kind.

The activities of the other Ashton ancestors during this period is shown, so far as I have been able to compile it, in the Appendix along with the genealogy charts.

The people in older times dressed very simply. The men on Sundays all wore smock-frocks, knee-breeches, gaiters fitting to the form of the calf, and a white hat. The women wore linsey dresses, a common bonnet with a cap or frill underneath, a red shawl tied over the shoulders, dresses were short . . . The people lived more plainly than now, having but one barrel of beer in a year. Breakfast of flummery; dinner—bacon, potatoes, broth, buttermilk. No beer and no meat, but red herring sometimes . . .

Nearly every farm had its weaving contingent, and rents were half made from the making of flannel, farmers working up all their own wool, and often buying more wool to work up . . . A typical old Welsh home would be built of a wooden framing, the panels filled in with plaster made of mud and straw . . . The chimney would be wide and open to the sky above and made of wood . . . a long stick would be kept to strike down any sparks likely to set fire to the soot in the chimney. Wood or peat was universally burnt . . . Paint was not used.***

**Montgomeryshire Collections*, Vol. 3, page 231.

***Montgomeryshire Collections*, Vol. 3, page 268.

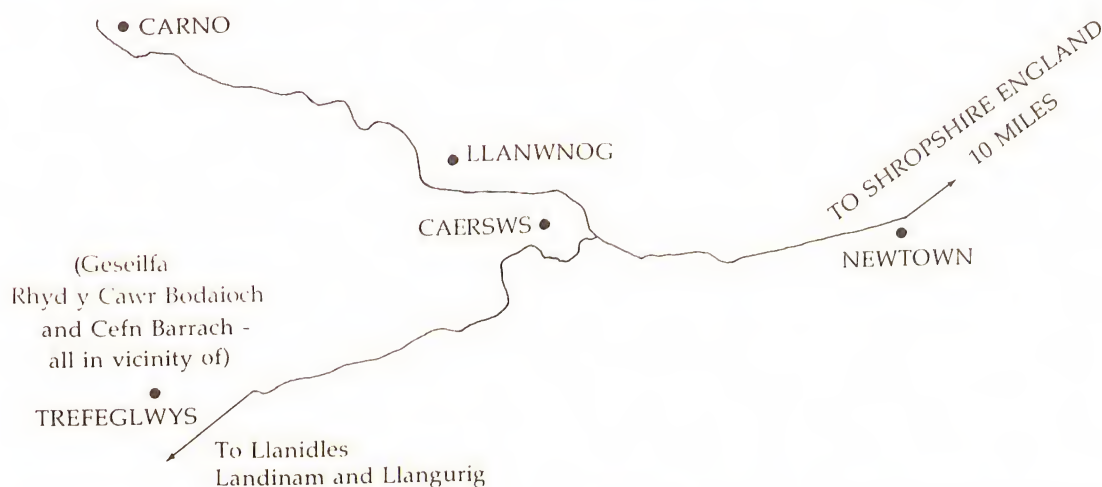
***Taken from Powsyana, *Montgomeryshire Collections*, Vol. 26, written in 1800's pages 160-161.

Prior to the Eighteenth Century all first names of Edward's ancestors were taken from the Anglo-Norman Kings who ruled England, or from the leaders of the Reformation. These names were Edward, Richard, Christopher, Valentine (a Long Parliament Reformer), John, Owen (Tudor), and others. No descendant of a tribal Welshman with any kind of memory would name a son Edward after the Conqueror of Wales, or Richard, who was one of his descendants. The women carried the same first names with tedious regularity. These were Elizabeth, Ann, and Margaret. Again the names of English Queens of the Reformation period being apparent.

When the names of Eighteenth Century Welshmen appear in the lineage, first names have a wonderful Celtic ring. Edward Ashton's grandfather was named Athelustan Savage and his grandmother, Hester Davies. From the records preserved after the Restoration it is clear that all the early Ashton ancestors lived and died within a few miles of the place where Edward Ashton was born. This was at Caersws, Parish of Llanwnnog, Montgomeryshire, Wales.

Anciently the area around Caersws was known as the Cantref of Arswytl. The modern Cantref is made up of the Parishes of Llanidloes, Langurig, Trefeglwys, Llandinan, Carno, Llanwnnog, and Pentatraweth. The Deanery of the Diocese of Arswytl was, and still is, a Bangor. This is of some importance to those who may search records. Many will be found at Bangor. The ancient Cantref, Commet, and Tref were changed by English influence into Shires, Hundreds, and Townships. Even later these became Counties, Districts, and Parishes.

In the Appendix, is a map of Ancient Arswytl, showing the location of the different Parishes and Townships in which the Ashton ancestors lived.



It is approximately ten miles from Caersws to Newtown and very little more than that from Caersws to Llanidloes. Trefeglwys appears to be the center from which the Ashton ancestry spread out to Llanidloes, Llandinan, Caersws, Llanwnnog, and adjacent areas.

Chapter Five

Birth of Edward Ashton and Early Years at Caersws 1821-1835

At the time of Edward's birth (21 August 1821) the so-called common man in Wales had reached the depths of economic and moral depression. Even those who held the ecclesiastical position of Vicar had been reduced to poverty and its inevitable fruits—ignorance and immorality.¹

Matters had become even worse because of the Napoleonic Wars which had ended at Waterloo seven years before. These wars and the earlier wars of Marlborough had left all Europe exhausted—financially and morally. Anyone reading the local accounts during this period will be shocked and depressed by the ignorance, poverty, and resulting lack of morality which existed.²

While this one was one of the most discouraging periods in the history of England and Wales it had its fascinating aspects. The People's Revolution in France and the Colonial Revolt in America had stirred men's minds. The Napoleonic Wars had unsettled and upset the status-quo. Change was in the air. It was into this environment that Edward Ashton was born.

Edward's birthplace, Caersws, is located upon the upper reaches of the Severn River in the Parish of Llanwnnog, Montgomeryshire, Wales. This Parish is contiguous to that of Trefeglwys. The village is located at the confluence of the Severn with two of its tributaries and is surrounded by round, green hills. Caersws is an ancient city, being founded and maintained by the early Romans, who apparently chose the location because it could be defended against the fierce Ordovician Tribes, which consisted of the Celtic-Welsh, who inhabited North Wales at that time.

At the time of Edward's birth, Caersws was inhabited by a few weavers, tanners, shoemakers, glovers, breechesmakers, flannel makers, hat makers, and tenant farmers.

(The Yeomen and landowning gentry had almost disappeared.) The Industrial Revolution was just beginning to take shape, particularly at Newtown, about ten miles to the east, and at Llanidloes, about fifteen miles to the south where small "home factories" for the manufacture of woolen fabrics and flannels were in operation.

Edward's father, Richard, who was probably born at Trefeglwys in 1794, remains something of a tragic mystery. He is sometimes described as a tanner and at other times as a flannel manufacturer. The fact that he is so described demonstrates that he had some status and at least sufficient funds to finance the lengthy process of curing and conditioning hides. The same would be true with respect to flannel manufacturing. Only the larger farmers or those who could afford to employ labor (which was piteously cheap) could afford to convert wool into flannel.

Edward's mother, Elizabeth Savage, and her family background are considered in the Appendix. It is quite apparent that her family was well established and that Elizabeth's father was an interesting leader in the community. It would be interesting to know what effect all this background had on Elizabeth and her husband Richard.

Richard and Elizabeth were married at Llanidloes on August 28, 1818. Their first child, Richard, was born at Caersws on December 14, 1818. Edward was the second child. Jane, the only girl, was born on September 27, 1823.³

It is pathetically clear that Richard, by the time he was thirty years of age, was a desperately unhappy man. Whether this unhappiness was due to poor health or domestic or financial difficulties, is not known. It is believed that when he was thirty years of age he took his own life.⁴ This unpleasant probability is included for two reasons: First, a study which deals only with the pleasantries and which glorifies all ancestors isn't a study at all, and, second, this tragic event probably, because of the dislocation which it caused, may account for the emigration to America of all three of Richard's children. Most other Nineteenth Century Ashton ancestors in North Wales lived and died within a few miles of the place of their birth. Adversity and tragedy often create changes which significantly effect those involved—sometimes to their ultimate advantage. It was so with Edward Ashton.

Richard's tragic death without doubt had a shocking effect on his widowed wife and small children. They were left in destitute circumstances. All had to work. By the time Edward was eight he was employed in a woolen (flannel) factory near Newtown. He started work at six o'clock in the morning and continued working until nine in the evening. He, like the other children, was paid three pence a day or about five cents in American money.

At the time of Edward's employment, factories as they existed in Industrial England in the 1850's did not exist. A 'factory' in Edward's time was a home where several people (four to six) worked on hand equipment which was driven manually or by primitive water power. He recalls that his right arm was nearly torn off so that he "was crippled and unable to work for a long period." He was ten years of age at the time. While his arm was healing he probably experienced some leisure—probably the only extended leisure of his entire childhood.*

*Life of Edward Ashton, as told by him to his children, George, Lizzie, and Emma here after referred to as Life of Edward Ashton.

Perhaps during this interlude young Edward had an opportunity to be a child, to walk and play along the stonelined lanes of his village, and absorb the beauty of the green hills of Caersws. No doubt he visited the nearby villages of Trefeglwys, Llanidloes, Carno, and Llanwnnog, where some of his relatives lived. His mind was undoubtedly filled with the memory of this charming area. Perhaps, throughout his life, he compared its beauty to the rugged harshness of the semi-arid Western United States which later became his home.

Edward is certain to have remembered some of the monumental things which existed in his childhood. There was the old Buck Inn, the Parish Church, and the beautiful half-timbered houses, one at least built by his ancestor, George Ashton. The Parish Church at Llanwnnog stands alone alongside the ancient yew trees and cold monuments of the ancient burial ground. The Church is isolated from the nearby villages by open fields and is connected to Caersws and Trefeglwys by picture book, stone-lined lanes, along which Edward's ancestors walked on their way to worship.

While Edward's arm was healing, his mother Elizabeth, became openly interested in a man by the name of Evan Kinsey. He later became a Minister of a local non-conformist Church and owned what later became the Buck Inn at Caersws.* Edward strongly resented the intrusion of this man into the life of his family. It was at about this time that Elizabeth's brother secured a job for Edward at Newtown. Edward writes that his duties were: "to do the chores around the house and store of a good family, and to attend to the old gentleman of the house who was very helpless."* He remained there for two years receiving as pay his board and clothing. He recalls, "I learned to love these people, for they were very kind to me.*"

While he was employed at Newtown his mother's brother died, leaving a small amount of money which was used to apprentice Edward and his older brother Richard, and also to provide for his only sister Jane. Richard was apprenticed ten miles away from Caersws. Because of Edward's youth and weakened arm it was difficult to place him in an apprenticeship. After several unsuccessful attempts he was finally "placed out" to become a shoemaker. He was twelve years old at the time and was "bound solid" for three to four years.⁶

This was an extremely unhappy period in Edward's life. The man to whom he was bound abused and beat him shamefully. This man "had an awful temper" and in Edward's words: "when in a rage would strike me with anything at hand, as though he wanted to kill me. This was particularly true the last day I remained with him. On that terrible morning he struck me brutally. I ran away from him into a corner where my work bench was located. I had on only my shirt and pants. He followed and doubled me up so that I could not stand. He had a stirrup in his right hand and held me with his left arm while he beat me as hard as he could. Then he pulled my ears until they bled. While I was in this helpless condition he grabbed my legs and feet and jerked me roughly so that my head caught on my bench. It hurt me very bad. I was able to get out of his grasp and run into the street. He followed in a rage, but was not able to catch me."*

At this frightful moment in his life an unnamed stranger came to his rescue. According to Edward, "he saw me all spattered and smeared with blood and running to

*Life of Edward Ashton

escape. He grabbed me and asked me what was the matter. When he saw my pursuer coming after, he shook his fist and dared him to come any farther." Shortly after this, either Edward or someone on his behalf, placed the matter before a magistrate to break the bonds of the apprenticeship. At this hearing Edward was stripped and examined. There were thirteen stripes on his back which "had swollen very much." He had been half starved and beaten so much that he wrote, "I was stupid." The magistrate after seeing his pitiful condition liberated him from his bonds.*

Notes to Chapter Five

¹The Aristocracy in its greed for power and position even took over the Churches. Those with sufficient position moved their pews into that part of the Church usually reserved for the Vicar in the performance of his ecclesiastical duties. The pew put the common man in a sort of a Jim Crow position. In the poorer Parishes the Vicar necessarily suffered with his flock. There was little attempt on the part of the wealthy to share with the poor. In this condition some Vicars were reduced, like their followers, to poverty and ignorance and final disregard for their duties.

²The following quote is from "Forden Union During The Napoleonic Wars (1795-1816), being Extracts from the *Minute Books of Forden Union*, Originally Extracted by J. Griffith Morris, and Annotated and Compiled by Mary Newill Owen":

Britain, during this time too, was in a state of transition, owing to what is now known as 'The Industrial Revolution,' and the great and far-reaching results of that great economic upheaval. The Act of Settlement was still in force, and the enclosing of Waste lands and Commons was still going merrily on, although in a lesser degree than in the previous decade.

All these causes tended to impoverish and degrade the peasantry. The lack of proper methods of sanitation and the appalling immorality of the whole nation during the 18th Century, are unfortunately only too evidently portrayed in these Annals of the Poor of the 'Montgomery and Pool United District,' now termed 'Forden Union'.

³Richard Ashton emigrated to America about 1838, settled in Waterbury, Connecticut, where he became superintendent of a watch factory. He died there 29 July 1893. I

*Life of Edward Ashton

Birth of Edward Ashton

have made contact with some of his descendants. They are highly successful and intelligent people. Jane Ashton married David Humphreys and came to America in 1875. They settled in Utica, State of New York, where she died 30 December 1903.

⁴Edward M. Ashton, the oldest grandson of Edward Ashton, told me on several occasions, and again the day before he died, that his father, Edward T. Ashton, Edward's oldest son, had told him privately that his father reported that Richard Ashton took his own life. Edward M. Ashton stated that no reason was given, but he had the impression that it related to domestic affairs. The Coroner's Records in the area do not record this event. My only source is Edward M. I believe his story is true.

⁵One of the first reformers of the abuses of the time was a contemporary of Edward by the name of Richard Owens. He started his reform in Newtown where Edward worked as a child. In 1833 Parliament passed the Factory Act which prohibited the employment in spinning and weaving factories of children below nine years of age, restricting the labor of those between nine and thirteen to eight hours a day, and to those between thirteen and eighteen to twelve hours a day. This was too late to help Edward Ashton.

⁶The following appears in an article entitled, "Some Montgomeryshire Crafts in the Nineteenth Century":

Shoemakers were a very intelligent class of people, and their workshops the center of much intellectual activity. Undoubtedly many a ballad and poem found its inspiration in the shoemaker's workshop. An old shoemaker, Samuel Drew, who later became famous in the United States, wrote this ditty:

'Ye tuneful cobblers will your notes prolong

'Compose at once a slipper and a song.'

It was an insult to a shoemaker to be called a cobbler, for the former served an apprenticeship period of three or four years, paying a premium of about twenty pounds. This entitled him to be taught his trade, and also to 'live in' on the premises. The cobbler on the other hand picked up his learning casually, and consequently was denied status as a craftsman.

Chapter Six

Edward Leaves Home 1835

Following his release from his apprenticeship, Edward became very independent, bitter, and rebellious. In his own words (with slight paraphrasing) he said:

By now I was extremely rebellious and too independent for my own good. I was only fourteen. I worked at one thing and another and hired out at my trade of cobbling so that I could complete my training. Mother married the Kinsey she had been seeing. His name was Evan. This was the end for me. The family broke up completely and I was the first to make the break. I for some time had wanted to tramp. Now I was determined. Over my Mother's tearful objections I left home, telling her I would not even let her know where I was going.*

This leave taking was cruelly and boldly done. Edward must have been deathly frightened and apprehensive. It is not known if he knew where he was going—only that he intended to go south. It is not easy to imagine all his feelings as he watched the smoke, hills, and lanes of his village gradually disappear while he walked slowly and apprehensively away.

I do not know which route Edward followed or what means of travel he used. It is almost certain that he walked, and that he followed for at least a part of the way the beautiful Severn as it flows in a silvery ribbon through Wales to the sea. It is probable that his tramp took several days and that before he reached his destination he traveled

*Life of Edward Ashton, as told by him to his children, George, Lizzie, and Emma.

through such places as Welshpool, Shrewsbury, and Coalport. He no doubt heard Falstaff's Shrewsbury Clock and saw the beauty of Wordsworth's Tintern Abbey. It is also likely that he encountered other itinerant boys wandering about like himself, for these were restless times. His journey finally ended at Tredegar, in Monmouthshire.

Several questions must occur to anyone interested in why things happen and why people act as they do. It is this challenge, as much as any other, which prompted me to examine the life and times of Edward Ashton.

First, why did Edward leave home? He gives us one of the reasons—his mother's marriage. He obviously did not like his stepfather, nor the sharing of his mother with one who replaced his own father, whose tragic death no doubt had left its scars of embarrassment and shame. It is easy to believe that the environment at Caersus had become uncomfortable, so that he grew bitter and resentful. A psychiatrist would say that the shock of these early events would have dislocated most people, let alone a young boy of tender years.

Second, and a reason more in keeping with the times, was the economic and social conditions existing in Wales. Not only was Edward poor, all the common people were depressingly impoverished in Wales at this time. With poverty came the inevitable breakdown of morality and family ties.

The following quotations from an account of the period reflect the conditions which existed:

Hugh Evans remembered hearing his grandparents, who were born in the 18th Century, speaking of the years after Waterloo (1815). They were indeed years of famine . . . The crisis came to Monmouthshire (next to Montgomeryshire) when according to tradition there were only three or four dry days from the beginning of May to the end of October. Every valley was sodden in July. The hay was rotting in the fields in August, and there was no reaping of corn (grain) in September.

It appears that in the winter food was scarce so that man and beast were near starvation. There was very little grain to be had. A man or woman might walk ten miles to market and return home on an empty stomach.

During these years Hugh Evans recalled that Richard Jones told him that his mother kept the family from starvation for years. The crops rotted in the fields. Grain was dear to buy, and they had no money to buy it. His mother undertook to make use of the wool of their sheep. Her husband was to do the housework, milk the cows, look after the animals, and card the wool; she would make the butter, cook the food, spin and knit. She worked early and later, sleeping only five or six hours in the twenty-four. Her target was three stockings a day, each nearly three feet long from toe to top. When a favorable day came she would walk 15 miles to market to sell the goods and buy enough barley to feed her family.

Anyone who remembers the thirties and forties (1830-1840) will not readily forget the sort of bread on their tables, how it looked more like lead than food for human beings.*

**Montgomeryshire Collections*, Vol. 53, pages 64-67.

These deplorable conditions formed an ideal environment for pestilence and disease. In examining the birth and burial records in the area around Caersws in the 1820's and 1830's, I invariably found, during the months of July and August, a shocking number of infant deaths with simple notation: "Typhoid." Under such conditions people became restless and those who were able, like animals, began to wander for forage so that begging and tramping became common. The following account illustrates the situation:

The boys also traveled about the countryside within a range of eight to ten miles, begging. At night they slept in houses or in barns. On one occasion when Ap Vychan was eight years old, and his brother ten, they traveled for this purpose as far as Abertstwyth. In their search they carried a bible and a hymn book, that they might learn portions by heart, needles and thread to mend their clothes, and leather, thread, nails and awl and hammer for the repairing of their clogs.*

**Montgomeryshire Collections*, Vol. 53, page 64.

Chapter Seven

Edward's Early Years at Tredegar 1835-1849

At Tredegar young Edward soon learned of an opportunity to follow his trade. What followed during the next two years while he was so employed prompted him to recall:

There I worked as a shoemaker with about a dozen men who were as mean and dishonest as I ever found. They stole and borrowed my clothes until I had no change to wear. I came under their evil influence and went with them to the taverns where I drank and played cards with the worst. At work they would start playing cards in the morning and keep it up all day. Nobody seemed to work. I finally became discouraged and gave way and partook of the same spirit. I was young and learned much too quickly. Before I was sixteen years of age I had become a great card player and gambler. My environment and habits developed in me a wild spirit so that I became careless about working and taking care of my money.*

It is certain that during this wild and reckless period Edward learned a great deal about mankind and himself and their reaction to evil, depravity, and abjection. To his credit he altered his course. In his own words:

After I had been at Tredegar for about a year I considered my position and

*Life of Edward Ashton

course and decided that I must make a change. But how to get away from this crowd of men was another question.*

At about this time Edward gathered together enough money to make a visit to his home at Caersws. This appears in a short account written by his son, Edward T. Ashton, on his father's eightieth birthday. He writes:

He found another shoe shop (in Tredegar) and there worked until he had fitted himself out with clothes and had earned enough money to aid him in visiting his mother. At home he was received with gladness by his mother. His stepfather, a minister, had just received an offer to preach in some new church, and asked Edward, who by this time had become an adept singer in a Baptist Church, to go with him and sing in a new church. Edward, however, thought only one church could be true and did not think his stepfather could with consistency change about in the following of his calling. He therefore refused the offer and returned to his old work and singing in his old choir.

When Edward returned to Tredegar he seems to have been undergoing a continuation of the self-inspection which was concerning him prior to his visit to Caersws. Perhaps his visit with his mother and stepfather had accentuated his problems. He told his children:

While I was considering my problem one day on the streets in Tredegar a stranger tapped me on the shoulder and asked if I would like to go into the country and work for him. I told him that on certain conditions I would. I was sixteen at the time and worked for this man for ten years.*

Edward is disappointingly unspecific. He does not "tell" who this "stranger" was, not where he worked, nor what he did. Fortunately, his son, Edward T. Ashton, informs us who this man was, and the nature of the employment. He writes of his father as follows:

Shortly after this time he was employed as a servant by a wealthy old gentleman by the name of Ellis who took a kindly interest in him. Grandfather has many kind things to say of Mr. Ellis and always felt a keen obligation to him for his good teachings.**

Edward was very fortunate in this association. It meant that for a very important part of his life, during very troubled and improverished times, his physical needs were provided for and he was under the influence of a good and wise man. It was during this important phase of Edward's life that the people of the British Isles were fighting for equal voting rights and the human privileges which had been obtained by others under

*Life of Edward Ashton

**From account written by Edward T. Ashton while in Wales on his father's 80th birthday, 21 August, 1901

the Republic in America and which had agitated France into a horrible and futile revolution.

Wales during this period was throbbing with religious enthusiasm, most of it nonconformist. This religious enthusiasm gave the congregated Welshmen an opportunity to express their love for group singing. Edward apparently had some talent in this field and joined with his countrymen in various singing classes. He writes that "on some occasions I would go to Episcopal meetings and on other occasions to the Calvenites." While attending the Calvenite meetings he studied Welsh and "learned to speak it quite well." His later wife, Jane Treharne, did not need to learn Welsh—her problem was English. He also attended Dissenter Meetings and joined their choir, "becoming their leader for quite awhile." He writes: "I never did, however, join their Church even though I was kindly requested to do so. I felt discouraged in their discourses."*

While working for Ellis, Edward considered going to America to join his brother Richard. Edward T. Ashton, in his account of his father, writes: "By this time Richard Ashton had sailed to America and was there doing well. Edward was about to join him."

During the time that Edward was thinking of going to America he met, for the first time, Mormon Missionaries. The meeting occurred at Bedwelty. He recalls:

During this period of religious inquiry I was very much troubled in my mind. I could not determine which was right. The Latter-Day Saint Missionaries were very active around Monmouthshire. I attended their meetings for some time before I decided to join.*

He was baptized on 20 July 1849, near Blackwood, Monmouthshire, in the Parish of Bedwelty, by Evan Evans. He was twenty-eight at the time.

Not much is known of his activities from 1849 until 1850 when he sailed for America. It is clear that he was active and that probably for the first time in his life his efforts were directed with an objective in mind. His activity is shown by the record, and his progress was rapid. He was ordained a Priest 25 October 1849, by Evan Evans, and ordained an Elder 29 September 1850, by Thomas Giles. Both ordinations took place at Bedwelty.*

Edward's interests in religious activity, as shown by his conversion to Mormonism and his activities with the Baptists, Calvenites, Episcopalians (Anglican Church) and Dissenters, establishes in his character an intellectual curiosity and a moral desire to improve himself. This is further shown by his study of Welsh and by his development of his musical talents. It also demonstrates the religious revival which was taking place. Mormon Missionaries were not the only proselyters who were active in the area.

This desire for self-improvement, arising in this young man, after all the hardships he had endured, in the midst of poverty and depravity, and without benefit of family, is remarkable. Certainly intellectual and artistic opportunities for one in Edward's position were limited. There were no university doors open to him.

An examination and appraisal of Edward Ashton at this period in his life is

*Life of Edward Ashton

tempting. His character, and to a large extent his ability, had been determined by generations of what and who had gone before, what had occurred during the hard and critical years of his youth, and the determinative choice he had made in 1849.

Superficially and descriptively he was about five feet six inches tall, stocky in build, blue-eyed, and of a grim and stubborn expression. But superficiality was not "Edward's long suit;" in fact, what he disliked most was superficiality, sham, frivolity, and anything that was not genuine.

An understanding of Edward's character requires a deeper look into and beyond the hardships, tragedies and poverty of an early life, and his enduring struggle for something better. If I had to choose descriptive phrases I would say of Edward: He endured; he literally survived; he overcame and achieved a simple happiness on a high level and of an enduring nature.

From his forebearers he must have inherited a good intelligence which enabled him to always excell in the common things he was called upon to do. Thus he became a "great gambler," a choir leader, and in later years, a teacher, Officer in the Utah Militia and Nauvoo Legion, and "one of those trusted by Brother Brigham." (Young)

No one will ever know what Edward could have done with opportunity. His oldest son in later years, perhaps with the bias expected of a son, saw in his father true greatness and latent talent which he described at some length in the account written in Wales on his father's eightieth birthday. He wrote:

In disposition grandfather was hopeful, stable and retiring. The feelings of others were akin to his own, his chair being ever ready for those standing. To sit in some remote corner and see others well pleased and enjoying themselves gave him real comfort. Boiled shirts were enemies but soft ones and good strong shoes always appealed to him. The company of good people gave him solid comfort. His personal tastes were very simple. Dressy and foppish people gave him concern and annoyance. He thoroughly appreciated a well told joke but could and would not stand for frivolity. He soon forgot undesirable characters but always found real enjoyment in talking of the good acts of the honorable. Often in speaking of them, tears would come down his cheeks. He believed that a person could only become successful through work and sacrifice. Thoroughly thrifty and frugal himself, he could not tolerate idleness and wastefulness in others. If better educated, he could have become a Samuel Smiles or an Emerson . . . His manner was very frank and open. He was vigorous and unrelenting in denouncing the thoughtlessness of others. His everyday life demanded the respect and admiration of all who knew him. His kindness to the sick and distressed are still remembered and spoken of by all of his old time acquaintances. Animals were always well treated by him and carefully fed and housed. Honesty was the strongest factor of his character. If circumstances forces him to break his word, even with a child, the thought of his neglect would worry and haunt him for days . . . His greatest happiness resulted from the honorable lives of his posterity.*

*Written by Edward T. Ashton while in Wales on his father's eightieth birthday 21 August 1901. Original in my possession.

Chapter Eight

Edward Goes to America

Edward was able, with the assistance of the Perpetual Emigration Fund,¹ to make arrangements for passage to New Orleans. He sailed October 17, 1850, aboard the *Joseph Badger*. There were 227 emigrants aboard, mostly from Wales. The only non-Mormons were members of the crew. Captain Schofield was in charge of the ship, which was a 890 ton sailing vessel. President John Morris was in charge of the emigrants. He was assisted by David Evans and Owen Williams. The few English and Scotch members aboard were under the direction of John Tingey.

The passenger list showed Edward Ashton, shoemaker, age 29. There were 56 adults, 63 children, and 8 infants. The fare for Edward was 2 pounds, most of which came from the Perpetual Emigration Fund, which, by 1850, had been established to assist members who wished to emigrate. Under this arrangement the advanced sums were returned to a revolving fund as soon as the emigrant was able to pay. (Also aboard this ship were the remaining members of the Treharne family, who did not emigrate in 1849.)

As soon as the ship was trimmed and under full sail, the passengers were given their instructions by the Captain and by President Morris. The married men and women, with their children, were placed in the center of the ship. In deference to human nature the unmarried members were placed at opposite ends, the males at the favored bow end and the females, of course, rear on the stern. They were all given strict instructions about cleaning the ship each morning with lime, and were admonished that eight o'clock every evening all lights were to be put out, except ship lights. Never, at any time were they permitted to have a naked or uncovered light in the ship, and they were impressed by the Captain of the terror of a fire at sea.

President Morris instructed them that no principle of morality would be violated,

and that the company would assemble every evening at the time of "lights out" for ship's prayers.

It is reported that the voyage was a very happy, though tiresome one. As soon as the passengers became accustomed to the motion of the ship their sickness disappeared and they began to visit together and form friendships which, for many of them, continued throughout their lives. Edward found that his ability to speak both English and Welsh was very helpful to him in visiting with and assisting the passengers.

As the ship approached New Orleans, the color of the water changes from Caribbean blue to a "Mississippi Mud," informing the passengers that they were approaching the great Delta area of the mighty Mississippi. When the pilot came aboard, the ship was towed over and around the great sand bars, which lie at the mouth of the river a distance of 100 miles, up to the throbbing and pulsating City of New Orleans. This towing process lasted three days. They arrived at New Orleans November 22, 1850.

When the passengers reached New Orleans they were told by the Port Officials that their voyage was the fastest ever made by an emigrant ship. Before going ashore they were advised to look out for thieves who posed as boarding house runners, and to be careful of pickpockets in the City. Edward had no fear of either for his total assets were ten cents!

The emigrants were then taken to the presiding Elder at New Orleans who advised them about the dangers of New Orleans. They were especially cautioned to be very careful in the use of fresh vegetable, because they had grown accustomed to a sea diet of salt pork and biscuit, and to avoid spirits and swindlers. It is unlikely that Edward needed this last bit of advice.

A few days later, Edward was able to borrow enough money from one of his Welsh friends to pay for his passage on the River Steamer *El Pasa*, bound for St. Louis. The fare was \$2.25 for an adult. In his own account of his life, he dissappointingly leaves out many important details, but he carefully records that he paid this money back as soon as he was able.

The Mississippi at New Orleans in 1850 swarmed with flatboats, steamers, and all kinds of craft. The quays were piled with lumber, pork, flour, cotton, and every variety of agricultural produce. Edward must have watched with fascination the many negroes who were owned like animals and who were performing tasks along the waterway. Regardless of how cruelly they were treated, it is unlikely that he saw anything worse than he had endured as a boy.

Perhaps Edward, who loved music, marveled at the hearty laughter and mirthfulness of these slaves as they sang their songs along the quays and aboard the River Boats. While their singing had an exuberance and humor, to him it could not have compared to the orderly discipline of Welsh singing.

Edward must have found the *El Pasa* very impressive. It was propelled by two engines, one on each side. The small house on top of the boat was the pilot house. Below the pilot house was a promenade deck. In fine weather it was used by passengers to sun themselves. There were cabins first and second class, and a place on deck for deck passengers. Needless to say, Edward was a deck passenger. The deck passengers had to supply their own food and Edward, in a desperate financial predicament, must have eaten very sparingly and inadequately.

The deck hands were a degraded lot—mostly negroes and Irishmen without trades. There were a few Americans among them. It may seem amusing in the Twentieth Century to distinguish Irishmen from Americans, and people without trades from

those who had no trade. In 1850 these were real distinctions, and Edward was a Welshman with a trade and proud of his position.²

The boat burned wood and every so often they would have to stop to take on a new supply. When this happened, the deck hands all "heaved ho" to the cry of "Wood Pile, Wood Pile." Most of the deck hands were dressed in guernsey shirts with knives stuck in their belts.

After Edward had been aboard the *El Pasa* about three days, the dreaded cholera struck. From that time on he reports that he had a very poor recollection of what occurred, for he recalls: "But the cholera made a raid on the boat, and many were taken down; and some died, and I had all that I could bear." He then appears vague and cannot recall for a period, for he continues: "It was as very cold day and I had not eaten a bite for six days and felt very weak and was quite helpless." Again he is vague but recalls: "but then I found that they took care of me; and they gave their bunk to me; and they lay (me) on the floor amongst the sick." He then names two of his benefactors saying, "William and Hannah Evans of Tredegar, Monmouthshire. They got me to a boarding house and paid my board there; and in two weeks I was working in a coal pit digging coal."*

Notes to Chapter Eight

¹The perpetual Emigration Fund was made up of donations in cash and produce (the produce turned into cash), and the money was loaned to poor members and converts, wherever they were, who wished to come to Utah. As fast as the borrowers could or would they repaid the loan and the fund in this way revolved over and over again. "Through the use of this perpetual fund, over 85,000 people, too poor to help themselves, were transported to the Intermountain West from wherever the Church found them."**

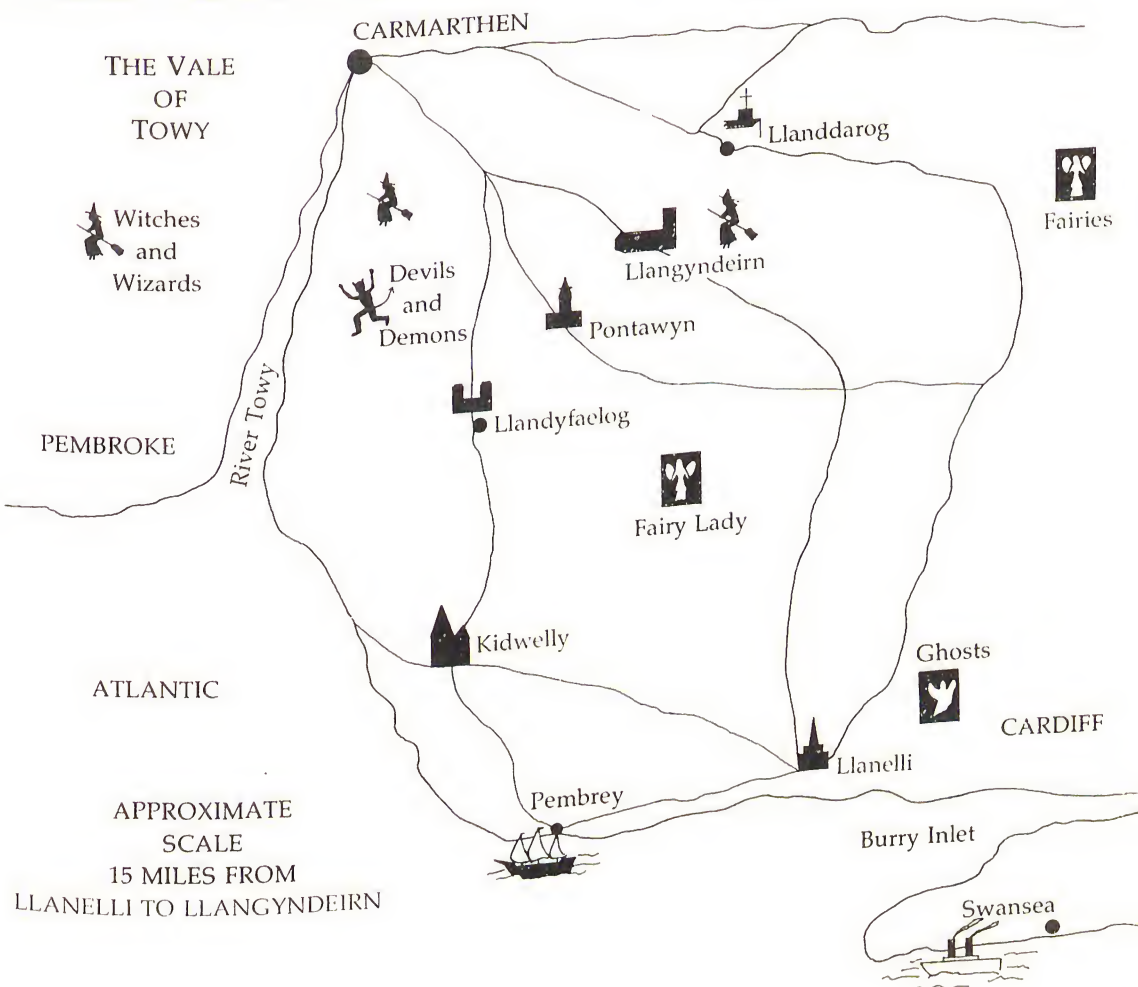
²The apprentice system, which is still in effect in the British Isles, qualified selected individuals by education and practical training to practice a trade. In England it even extends to the professions. Barristers still go through a sort of apprenticeship at the Inns of Court. An internship for a young doctor is the equivalent of an apprenticeship. There were very few pioneers in Utah who had been apprenticed—It was the early 19 Century equivalent of a college education.

*Life of Edward Ashton

**Heart Throbs, *Tales of a Triumphant People*, Vol. I, page 231.

Chapter Nine

The Land and History of The Ancient Treharnes



The ancestors of Jane Treharne lived in an area in Carmarthenshire, consisting of the Parishes of Llanelli, Llanedi, Langennech, Llannon, Llandyfaelog, Llangyndeirn, St. Ishmaels, Kidwelly, and Pembrey. All lie within a small lowland area which was anciently known as (Ystred Tyur) The Vale of Towy.

Pembrey, which seems to be the home of the first Treharnes, is at the mouth of the Towy facing Carmarthen Bay. From Pembrey to Llangyndeirn, where Jane Treharne was born, is approximately fifteen miles.

All the Parishes except Llanelly and Kidwelly remain very much as they were in 1849 when Jane Treharne and her family emigrated to America. This is particularly true at Llangyndeirn. Even Pembrey has retained most of its unspoiled Eighteenth Century charm.

The little villages of the Vale are formed around the ancient Parish churches. Llangyndeirn, the heart of Treharne Wales, is idyllically located long the slope of a hill. Narrow roads, which no planner designed, connect the little farms to the "Llan" and the "Pub." They only break in the green landscape is the lime quarry to the east. This is the same quarry which was mined by Jane Treharne's forefathers. Lime is still quarried, some as in the past, to be used as a fertilizer for the local farms.

The only buildings in the village are the Church, the Vicarage, the "Pub," and a residence which seems to serve the "Pub." This proximity creates the same comfortable and wholesome environment which exists in Trefeglwys, North Wales. The patrons of the "Pub" and the worshippers at the "Llan" keep comfortable track of one another without too much inconvenience.

In 1973 I visited with Reverend D. J. Jones, Vicar at Llangyndeirn. He showed me the Parish records and some of the Parish treasures. While in the vestry I found myself standing on a large shale slab on which was inscribed the name Thomas Treharne.

The Vicar noted the prominent position of the two slabs and commented, "Thomas Treharne apparently was very important." He noted that the Treharnes had been in the Parish as early as the 1600's, and thought that the Treharne name was Welsh-Cornish, and that the family originally came from the coastal areas of Cornwall. This probably is correct. It is certain that they are descended from the cenedl of the Great Chief Treharne who roamed the areas of both Cornwall and South Wales.

The ancestors of the Welsh were Celts who first arrived along the coastal areas of Wales and Cornwall. They came from Europe. Those who settled around Monmouthshire came from Southern Brittany and the Loire Valley. Those who settled more to the west in the southern coastal areas of the Treharnes came from Portugal and Spain. They formed the Tribes of Silurians and Demetae who are closely related to the ancient and mysterious Druids.

While on a train from London to Cardiff Wales in the summer of 1973, I wrote the substance of the following. Some of the material was taken from an excellent Welsh travel booklet. I later supplemented it with a little research of my own. Certainly I do not pretend to be a Welsh historian even though I would like to be. Perhaps it will give a little Welsh flavor to the very Welsh Treharnes.

The recorded ancient history of South Wales, like North Wales, begins with the Roman occupation. Agricola, the Roman leader who visited Wales during the Roman occupation, was quoted by Tacitus as saying that the swarthy visages and twisted locks of the South Wales Tribe of Silures pointed to their Iberian origin.* Piggott wrote that

*A. Murry, *The Historical Works of Tacitus*

"the Celtic cowboys and shepherds of South Wales, footloose and unpredictable, moving with their animals over rough pasture and moorland, could never adopt the Roman way of life."*

After the Roman occupation the Picts and the Scots began to prey upon the people. The Picts swarmed in from the north and the Scots from the west. Gildas, the learned Monk, described the invasion of the Scots who came in their primitive skin boats:

Their hulls might be seen creeping across the glassy surface of the main like so many insects awakened from torpor by the heat of the noonday sun and making with one accord for some familiar haunt.*

Out of the darkness of this period emerges in hazy outline of what was to become Wales. Gildas saw Wales at this time as being ruled by pretty Kinglets who were "occupied in expelling the Irish from the west and holding off the Saxon in the east." Most important, he shows that a new language was developing.*

In the Sixth and Seventh Centuries wandering Christian Monks, not Roman Catholic, were active in Wales. These Monks constructed little dwellings of wattle and daub which formed the nucleus for a settlement and became known by the people as a Llan, the Welsh name for a Church. It was during this period that Dewi Sant (Saint David) became the National Saint of Wales.

During the next two hundred years the Welsh battled the Britons. In 615 one of these Britons, Edwin of Northumbria, drove a wedge between the Celts in Scotland and the Celts in Wales, thus finally separating the two. During the same period Shropshire and Herefordshire to the east were cut off. Meanwhile the border of England was pushed relentlessly westward toward the Welsh hills. The tide was steadfastly resisted and only ended when Offa's Dyke was constructed as a line defining the border between the English Saxon and the Welsh Celt. To this day the Welsh speak of going to England as "crossing Offa's Dyke."

The dyke softened the Saxon danger but as soon as it had done so a new peril arose in the form of marauding Vikings who harried the southwest coast, burned monasteries and threatened the land. The Welsh hero who checked the Danish Vikings was Rhodri Mawr, Rhodri the Great. He was the first to unite the Welsh politically. Rhodri's grandson, Hywell (Howel) Dda (good)—Howell the Good, codified the law and the books of the period. They are the source books of Medieval Law.

After Hywell there is another period of darkness and confusion. This time, however, it was caused by the Welsh themselves. Sometimes the Tribal Chiefs from the north predominated and sometimes they were controlled by Princes from the south. The Great Chief Treharne was one of these. These Princes lived in castles of wood and were accompanied by their bards. England at this time was strongly united under the Henrys who intrigued and nurtured the Welsh dissention for their own advantage.

The coming of the Normans in 1066 had almost as much ultimate effect on the Welsh Celts as it did on the English Saxons and Angles. The only way the Normans could control the Welsh was by military occupation. As a result South Wales was occupied by the Marcher Lords. These were, for the most part, Normans with private armies who became barons of the borderlands. These armored knights with their

*Documents relating to Great Britain (Oxford 1869).

followers were too much for the unarmored Welsh. They followed the old Roman roads and built Castles which at first were wooden forts with a mound or "motte" surrounding them. Later they were surrounded by moats and were built of stone. South Wales has more ancient Castles of this period than any other part of Wales. One still remains at Kidwelly.

When Henry I died, the Lord Marchers gave military aid to Matilda in her struggle against Robert of Gloucester, who was struggling for the English Crown. This gave the Welsh "a breather." In the south Lord Rhys (Reese) gained control. During his reign the bards were called to a gathering of what probably was the beginning of the Welsh Eisteddfodau. This period marked a great revival of the Welsh literature, particularly the beginning of what has been called "the brilliant word juggling" of Welsh poetry.

It was during this period that Geoffrey Arthur of Monmouth wrote his History of the Kings of Britain. Geoffrey claimed to have taken his facts from an old Welsh book obtained from the Archdeacon of Oxford. No one has been able to find such a book. Geoffrey's literature has endured but probably came entirely from his untrammelled and wonderful imagination influenced by legend but not in any way inhibited by it. Geoffrey was the creator of King Lear and King Arthur. His story of King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table is so firmly fixed in our childhood minds that we find it difficult to believe that they too, along with most of the stories of Merlin, were created by him. Geoffrey did not let the facts get in the way of a good story. His artistry is so great that in spite of the facts his "heroes and heroines go riding on."

During this period the people in the Vale lived in a very primitive fashion. Their dwellings were built of woven osiers. The main diet consisted of meat, oats, butter, and cheese. Hospitality was a duty and many played the harp, the strings made of hair or leather. The bed consisted of rushes spread on the floor. Men and women cut their hair in a circle level with the eyes and they took profound interest in the matter of descent. The trait survives. They were also believers in prophecy and were very superstitious. The area of the Vale is even now notorious for its witches and witchcraft.

At about this time, while Richard the Lion Hearted was on crusade, the Welsh Prince Llewellyn consolidated his power, and to make a long and interesting story very short, gained control of Wales. He became known as Llewellyn the Great. At the height of his power he married an illegitimate daughter of Prince John, named Joanna. This event became one of great significance as it laid the groundwork for the later claim of the Tyddrs (Tudors) to the Throne of England.

When Llewellyn's son David died the next David assumed the title of Prince of Wales. Henry III was forced to recognize the title which to this day is the title of "The Heir Apparent" to the British Throne. Over forty years later another Llewellyn Prince, a nephew of son David, was defeated by Edward the First after widespread insurrection. His head was carried in triumph through the streets of London. This ended Welsh independence so that the people were once again ruled by the Lord Marchers.

Wales then endured the Glyndwr Revolt (Shakespeare's great magician "that damned Glendower"), the black death and The War of the Roses. In this war Welshmen participated primarily as indocinated soldiery. These wars terminated the supremacy of the old style Barons, and the Marcher Lords who committed suicide as a class by warring with one another.

When Henry V died, Owain Tydur, a descendant of the family of Ednyfed Fychan, took service under Henry V. That story has been referred to in Chapter I.

The events of the Reformation and the Rebellion are well known and have been

noted earlier in this account. The effect on South Wales, so far as the Treharnes were concerned, was not nearly as significant as it was to the Ashton ancestors in North Wales. One event of great significance occurred during this period. In 1543, during the reign of Henry VIII, Wales and England were united into one government and the Marcher lands were converted into Shires and Welshmen were granted political equality with Englishmen. From this point on the language of the Courts was to be English and Welsh law was replaced by English law. The new system was generally accepted and proved popular.

At about this same time it was suggested by Henry VIII that the Welsh might care to take fixed names instead of being identified son ap father. The suggestion was followed and names such as Bevans were created, which is simply a combination of John ap Evans, which contracted became Bevans. The name "Treharne" is not so adulterated.

All the Treharnes came from Carmarthenshire and all the known names in the "pedigree" appear, unlike the names of most of the Ashton ancestors to be Welsh. They probably were descendants of the ancient Silurians and Demaetae tribes. Those carrying the name Treharne seem to have come first from Pembrey, then Llanelli, and finally Llangyndeirn, all in the Vale. They have a fairly well known history. Jane's father operated a lime kiln, as had his father before him. This lime was primarily used as a fertilizer for the impoverished soil. Her great grandfather had been a gentleman of some education and position. So had her great great grandfather, whose name was William. Her great grandfather, John Treharne, left a will in 1824, which reads as follows:

John Treharne of Glynsyllen, Parish of Llanelli, County of Carmarthen, Gentleman. To be buried in churchyard of Parish Church of Llangyndeirn. To son Thomas Treharne and nephew John Thomas of Caepontpren, Parish of Llaney, farmer, sum of 80 pounds, to be invested for seven years, and thereafter this amount and the interest which was accrued is to be paid as follows: The sum of 40 pounds to son John, the sum of 20 pounds to grandson John, natural child of said son John, who now resides with me. Remaining sum of 20 pounds to granddaughter Mary, daughter of my son William. During the seven year period trustees may advance up to 10 pounds to son John and grandson John, as they see fit. If son John should die before expiration of term of seven years, said sum of 40 pounds shall be divided amongst his child or children as shall be then living, share and share alike, or if no children living, then the 40 pounds to be paid to grandson John and granddaughter Mary, share and share alike. If granddaughter Mary should die before seven years, 20 pounds to be paid to my son William Treharne, if then living, or in case of his death, to his child or children, share and share alike. To said son Thomas the sum of 50 pounds to be paid within 12 months. And all my real estate and remainder to my children David, Sarah and Anne in equal shares. Care and guardianship of grandson John and granddaughter Mary to son Thomas and nephew John Thomas until each of them attain 21 years.

David, Sarah and Anne named joint executors.

Signed 12 Aug. 1824

John Treharne (his seal)

Witnesses: William Davies, Atty.
Carmarthen

William Jones, his clerk
C. Harris Junior, his clerk

The estate was valued at under 800 pounds.

The family name was originally spelled Trahaern or Trehearne. It was to this clan or cenedl that all Treharnes trace, through the male line, their family lineage. A cenedl consisted of a body of kinsmen all descended from a common ancestor.

Jane Treharne's grandfather, William Treharne, married Jane Walters of Llangyn-deirn. Her father was probably Walter Harry Walters, whose father (Henry) left a will dated 4 July 1728, which is as follows:

Dated 19 Feb. 1728. Henry Walter of Llangyndeirn, Carm. To my well-beloved wife Frances Walter, 8.6.0, best cupboard, best chest, other furniture. To my wife's son William Griffith, four pounds. To my two daughters Jane and Elizabeth Morris, one pound or ten shillings to each. To my son Walter Harry, one mare, all household goods except those before mentioned, and he is to pay to my son David Harry ten shillings, also to receive my best suit of clothes, and to my son-in-law Daniel Bowen, ten shillings. To my said wife Frances Walter, house and garden, and she and my son Walter Harry to be joint executors.

Witnesses: Robert Morgan, William Morris. The mark of Henry Walter

Henry, it will be noted, was not listed as a Gentleman, and could not read or write English—or his name. His assets, compared to John Treharne's were minimal. Also note that John was identified as a gentleman. This was still important in the Eighteenth Century.

Chapter Ten

Birth of Jane Treharne and Conversion of her Family to Mormonism



Llangydeirn Church and church yard

Jane Treharne was born 2 April 1828 in the Parish of Llangydeirn, Carmarthenshire Wales. Her mother and father were born 30 years earlier, her father in Llangydeirn on 11 June 1798, and her mother in Pembrey on 15 December 1798. (These dates are christening dates.)

She had two brothers and three sisters, all born in Llangyndeirn. Their names: John, 1823, Mary, 3 May 1826; Sarah, 14 February 1830; Sage, 27 November 1834; and William, 14 July 1838.

In the year 1844 two Mormon Missionaries came to the City of Llangendeirn. Their names were Eliaser Edwards and Abel Evans. Jane reports that her father appointed her to go to the Mormon meeting and report on the teachings. She was 16 at the time. Jane did as requested and reported all that she could remember. "Upon hearing her story her father slapped his hands on his knees and said, 'that is the Gospel I have been looking for for years.' ""*

The Missionaries left the City the next day and did not return until about three years later. When they returned all the members of the family were ready for membership, except the oldest, John, who, at that time, was 24 years of age. Accordingly, all except John were baptized in February of 1847. John was baptized later.

No doubt a careful inquiry would reveal what happened to the Treharnes between 1847 and February 1849. I have not made such an investigation. It is clear that this was a period of religious revival which was expressed in Wales by large meetings, many of which were bitterly organized against the rapidly increasing Mormon population. The Treharnes no doubt experienced some of this unpleasant villification.

**History of Jane Treharne*, compiled by her children. George, Emma, and Lizzie.

Chapter Eleven

The Treharnes Go to America 1849

The conversion of the Treharnes associated them with the small but rapidly growing group of converts under the leadership of Dan Jones,¹ whose headquarters were located at Merthyr Tydfil (South Wales). This fiery crusader organized these early followers into an enthusiastic and vigorous group which, under his leadership in 1849, became the first group of foreign speaking members of the Mormon Church to emigrate to Utah.

Several accounts have been written of this early historical event. From these it is known that the ship which carried these early emigrants from Swansea was a small, primitive steamer bound for Liverpool. It was known as the *Troubadour*. The press was on hand for the event. A reporter for the *Banner* described the assemblage as follows:

This goodly company is in command of a popular Saint, known as Captain Dan Jones, a hardy traveler, and brother of the well known John Jones, Llanollen, the able disputant on the subject of baptism. He arrived in the Town on Tuesday evening and seems to enjoy the respect and confidence of the farmers from the neighborhood of Brechfa and Llanybydder, Carmarthenshire; and although they are well to do, they dispose of their possessions to get to California. It is their intention we are informed, not to visit the gold regions, but the agricultural districts, where they intend, they say, by helping one another, to reside in peace and harmony and to exemplify the truth of brotherly love, not in name but in practice.

Edward Ashton's great grandson, Wendell Ashton, reports the incident in his book, *Theirs Is The Kingdom*, as follows:

Dan Jones gathered the group together, addressed them, and then they filed into the Steamer. As the vessel pulled away, Welsh voices chorused a favorite hymn, a thunder of cheers went up, and the first company of foreign speaking Latter Day Saints was on its way to Zion.

It is probable that one of the songs which was sung was the then popular song with words as follows:

The Upper California, Oh that's the land for me
It lays between the mountains and the Great Pacific Sea
The Saints can be supported there and taste the secrets of liberty
In Upper California, Oh that's the land for me.

The Upper California, as the words suggest, designated the Great Basin Area where the Pioneers had settled. It was not known in Europe at that time as Utah.

Another account contained in a Swansea newspaper *The Cambrian* under date of February 1849, is as follows:

On Tuesday last, Swansea was quite enlivened in consequence of the arrival of several wagons, loaded with luggage, attended by some scores of bold peasantry of Carmarthenshire and almost an equal number of the inhabitants of Merthyr and the surrounding districts, together with their families. The formidable party were nearly all Latter-day Saints and came to this town for the purpose of proceeding to Liverpool in the *Troubadour* steamer where a ship is in readiness to transport them next week to the glittering regions of California.

This goodly company is under the command of a popular Saint, known as Captain Dan Jones...He entered the town under the gaze of hundreds of spectators, and in the evening he delivered his valedictory address at the Trades Hall to a numerous audience, the majority of whom were led by curiosity to hear his doctrines, which are quite novel in this town.

Amongst the group were many substantial farmers from the neighborhoods of Brechfa and Llanybydder, Carmarthenshire; and although they were well-to-do, they disposed of their possessions to get to California, their New Jerusalem, as they deem it, where, fanaticism teaches them to believe they will escape from the general destruction and conflagration that is shortly to envelope this earth. They seem animated only with the most devout feelings and aspirations, which seem to flow from no other source (judging from their conversation) than a sincere belief that the End of the World is at hand; and that their Great Captain of Salvation is soon to visit his *bobl yng ngwlad y Saint*, (People in the country of the Saints.)

Amongst the number who came here were several aged men varying from 70 to 90 years of age and 'whose hoary locks' made it very improbable they will live to see America. Yet so deluded are the poor and simple Saints that they believe that everyone amongst them, however infirm and old they may be, will as surely land in California safely, as they started from Wales. Their faith is most extraordinary.

On Wednesday morning, after being addressed by their leader, all repaired on board in admirable order and with extraordinary resignation. Their departure was witnessed by hundreds of spectators, and whilst the steamer

gaily passed down the river, the Saints commenced singing a favorite hymn. On entering the piers, however, they abruptly stopped singing and lustily responded to the cheering with which they were greeted by the inhabitants.

When the *Troubadour* docked at Liverpool the emigrants were housed in one large six storied building where they spent six days at a cost of one shilling and sixpence a day for each person. Due to the efforts of Dan Jones, advantageous terms were secured for the voyage—namely, three pounds twelve shillings and sixpence (including food) for all over fourteen, and three pounds for the under fourteens, as against the sum of five pounds (without food) which was charged in other ships.

Orson Pratt was the agent for European Emigration between the years 1848 and 1851. Between those dates he supervised the emigration of 5369 emigrants from Liverpool. His record shows the following concerning the *Buena Vista*:

Feb. 25, 1849. *Buena Vista*, 547 tons. Captain Linnel, President Dan Jones. No. of souls, 249

Instructions given to the emigrants directed the type of equipment and amount of food required for the voyage. In 1849 the Mormon emigrations were relatively new and efficient plans had not yet gone into effect. The emigrants provided their own food, bedding, and utensils. The ships provided the cooking apparatus and fuel. It was not until 1852 that the Passengers Act, passed by Parliament, provided minimal food requirements. The Passengers Act provided:

No two passengers, unless members of the same family, may be placed in the same berth. Nor in any case may persons of different sexes, above the age of fourteen years, unless husband and wife, be placed in the same berth.

The Act also provided:

Berths six feet in length, and eighteen inches in width shall be allowed to each statute adult.

Dan Jones selected as the vessel for this ocean voyage the *Buena Vista*. In *Heart Throbs*, Vol. 4, the following is written:

This boat was a leaky one. The English said: 'Let them have it and it will go down with all the damned Mormons on board,' but Jones, being seaworthy and wise, repaired the ship.

William Phillips, who had succeeded Captain Dan Jones as President of the Welsh Mission, gave a detailed account in *Udgorn Seion* of the happenings at Liverpool. There were 240 Welshmen (not counting the children) on board the *Buena Vista*, and 65 Welshmen on the Hartley. All sorts of scurrilous stories had been broadcast about Dan Jones. Some had asserted that he would sell the emigrants as slaves, and others maintained that some wives had joined the emigrant group without the consent of their husbands. Dan Jones was such an outspoken crusader that he aroused not only great enthusiasm among his adherents but also great enmity among others. For several days

before leaving his home of Merthry Tydfil, he was in great peril and his house was attacked nightly for some weeks. For his own safety, Church members afforded him round-the-clock protection. He had to leave secretly because of possible attempts on his life. Some of the stories from South Wales had reached Liverpool, for in that town, the emigrants were invited by some Welsh nonconformist Ministers to explain their doctrines. They were satisfied by the explanations given.

The *Buena Vista* sailed from Liverpool, 25 February 1849. The following account is contained in an article written by T. H. Lewis, *Improvement Era*, April 1961, entitled, "The First Welsh Emigration":

A service was held on board the *Buena Vista* on Sunday, the 25th day of February, under the direction of Captain Dan Jones. A branch of the Church was effected aboard ship. Permission was given to use the ship captains deck for the choristers and orchestra to render 'The Saints Farewell'...we were followed by our dear brethren—William Phillips (Merthyr), Abel Evans, Eliezer Edwards, and several other faithful Elders, together with David Jeremy, of Brechfa, They...bought oranges and threw them into the ship as long as they were within reach.

By the time the ship was passing the Isle of Anglesey, everybody was seasick except Captain Dan Jones and Daniel Daniels. As the land of Wales was disappearing from view, Dan Jones ruminated on his sojourn there. 'Why had I to flee before the scheduled time?...Religious persecution was the cause, and God is not the source of persecution. No religion which persecutes emanates from Him....

Several accounts have been written of his voyage. Two were written by husband and wife. Parts of both are included here. It is interesting to note the difference in viewpoint. Only the wife has the foreboding fears and points out facts which were the prelude to later tragedy. The husband's (John Jeremy) adventurous letter is as follows:

On Monday 26 Feb. 1849, about 2:00 P.M. we commenced our journey by going out of the Waterloo Dock and singing the "Saints farewell". After we had gone about thirty miles out to sea the steamboat left us alone on the great ocean. The wind was against us the first day but the weather was fine. On Tuesday we came in sight of an island. The land looked barren and the mountains very high and dwelling houses were numerous skirting the beaches. Tuesday and Thursday following most of us were very much out of sorts thru sea sickness, but some of us escaped without any sickness. During these days our dear President, Captain Dan Jones, was very mindful of the sick. He showed his love towards us very much. He would walk back and forth thru the great ship, and administer to those that were sick.

Brother Jones kept very busy to get people to go on deck, but many would hide from him by covering up in bed while he passed. He would sometimes jokingly say he would bring the pulley down and put a rope around us and hoist us up against our own will, but all willingly obeyed, and went on deck so the joke was not executed.

There were not many of us sick after the first day or two. I do not intend to

give a daily history of the voyage as I intended at first because Brother Jones has given a minute history of the daily occurrence, it suffices for me to testify that he has stated the conditions correctly...

We left many ships and islands behind and our vessel hurried towards the setting sun. We had fine weather and fair wind nearly every day. Indeed it was much more of a pleasure trip than I expected. The middle of March was like June. While in one part of the ship musicians were playing, in other parts good books were being read and studied—others conversing about our country and the success of the Gospel in Wales and many of their relations had obeyed it.

We held prayer meetings nearly every night instead of family prayer. Our Heavenly Father gave of his spirit above and answered our prayers until the winds obeyed us. We held Saints Meeting every Sunday and commemorated our Lord and Savior. We reached New Orleans safely on April 18, 1849.*

Thomas' wife, Sarah Jeremy, forebodingly pointed out in a letter the following:

After seven weeks aboard the *Buena Vista* we ran out of oatmeal, bread, and water, and had to eat hardtack and drink water full of slime, called 'ropey water.' Our hearts were filled with joy when we saw the buildings of New Orleans outlines against the sky and saw the two tugboats that came to tow us into the harbor. **

The St. Louis Republican, under date 20 April 1849, reports as follows:

Apr. 19 Port of New Orleans, arrived yesterday, Ship *Susan Lord* from Liverpool, Ship *Buena Vista* from Liverpool.

When the *Buena Vista* reached New Orleans the predictions of the English were partially fulfilled. The event is recorded in *Heart Throbs*, Vol. 4, as follows:

They came across the ocean, unloaded everything upon the docks (much of it water soaked and spoiled)...and the ship sank in the harbor...But the Welsh emigrants were undaunted.²

The account proceeds:

With their wealth of melody and song the Welsh Saints came ashore carrying, some of them, their crude harps with strings of hair or leather, even though they knew space in wagons would be limited. But they couldn't leave their music behind.

*Letter of Thomas Jeremy, taken from the *George S. Ashton Story*

**Letter of Sarah Jeremy, taken from the *George S. Ashton Story*.

Notes to Chapter Eleven

¹Captain Dan Jones is recognized as the founder of the Welsh Mission. He was dearly loved, idolized, and called "The Welsh Prophet" by all the Welsh Saints. At 32 he had earned for himself a college degree, sailed the seven seas, and emigrated to the United States, where he located in the Mississippi States section, and Church History first mentions him as plying a small river steamer called *The Maid of Iowa* on the great river. Before this, in 1841, he had obtained a license and enrollment at St. Louis to ply a small steamer called *The Ripple*. Joseph Smith was a partner with Jones in the ownership of *The Maid of Iowa*. Jones, who was with Joseph Smith at Carthage, escaped martyrdom because he had been sent on an errand at the time the mob came to the jail.

²This tragic of the *Buena Vista* long been retold. However, research indicates that the *Buena Vista* was seaworthy, that Dan Jones was a capable captain.

General Note: The story recorded in *Heart Throbs* about the *Buena Vista* being an old ship which sank in the harbor is wrong. It is left in here because it is so well accepted that it needs refutation. The fact is the *Buena Vista* was built in 1848. It crossed the Atlantic many times after the Treharne crossing. The *Heart Throbs* story grew out of a story circulated in Wales by enemies of the Welsh emigration. A researcher employed by the writer is gathering a complete history of the ship. Because of the lack of time it will not be included herein.

Chapter Twelve

New Orleans 1849

In 1849, and for several years thereafter, New Orleans was the portal through which most all emigrants had to enter to order to go west. Chicago had not yet become a great railroad center. Transportation to the west was still upstream by boat and overland by wagon. The population of the City was approximately half a million, one-half of which was slave.

The health of the inhabitants was notoriously bad. According to Frederick Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to great Salt Lake City*, New Orleans was annually subject at this time to Yellow Fever and other maladies. Deaths mounted to two hundred daily. One of the worst of the diseases was cholera. Its spread through the western United States in the late 1840's and early 1850's was shocking. From St. Louis it raged upriver to points along the way, thence west across the plains where it ravaged like an uncontrolled and savage prairie fire. Whole tribes of Indians died. The Red Man fled before the White Man, whom he feared as a plague, and who, in fact, brought a plague upon him.¹

The ignorance of the time was appalling. The unlearned felt that the fumes in the air (and there were many) carried the disease. As a result great campaigns were waged in which sulphur was burned for the purposes of purification. Lime was spread on the streets and all kinds of remedies were proposed. The newspaper advertisements proclaimed anti-cholera medicines of all kinds. Blood-letting was advocated and one doctor burned the soles of his patients' feet. Another raised blisters on his sufferers' abdomens. One lucky doctor found most success in washing down medicines in small doses with "lots of water." This doctor accidentally hit on the only successful remedy—and it was the water, not the medicine, which had the beneficial effect.

Benjamin Clapp, who was the Mormon Elder in charge at New Orleans, tragically advised the emigrants not to drink water if they were stricken. This advice no doubt caused the deaths of more than one suffering emigrant. It will be pointed out later in

Sarah Jeremy's letter written from aboard the *Highland Mary*, that an accidental failure to follow this good Elder's advice saved the life of one of her children. Poor Benjamin's advice was born in ignorance, no matter how good his intentions may have been. Kendall A. Elsom, an authority on Asiatic Cholera, writes the following in Vol. III (196) *The Cyclopedia of Medicine*:

The prime essential in the treatment of any case of cholera is that it be regarded as a medical emergency. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the replacement of fluids and electrolytes (salts and potassium) is the most urgent necessity, and that all other methods of treatment shall be subordinated to it.

When the Treharnes reached the City, they, like many emigrants, were suffering from weakness occasioned by inadequate and improper food while at sea for fifty days. In this weakened condition they were perfect targets for the Asiatic bacteria which was prevalent in the swampy and dirty City of New Orleans.

The histories written by the Treharnes and others do not indicate how long the Welsh emigrants remained in New Orleans before leaving for St. Louis. I have searched the New Orleans and St. Louis papers of that period and am convinced that they remained there until the last of April 1849, at which time they left aboard the river steamer *Constitution*. This is contrary to the accounts of Jane Treharne and Sarah Jeremy. Both write that they made the river trip on the steamer *Highland Mary*.

I believe that the only part of the river trip on the *Highland Mary* was from St. Louis upriver to Council Bluffs. This is necessarily so because the *Highland Mary* in the year 1849 did not run between New Orleans and St. Louis to Weston and St. Joseph and, on special occasions, to Council Bluffs.

On 29 April 1849, the following ad appeared in the *St. Louis Republican*:

For Weston and St. Joseph: The new elegant and fast running passenger steamer, *Highland Mary*, George W. Atchison, master, will leave for the above on Tuesday, the 1st day of May at 4:00 o'clock P.M. For freight or passage apply on board to Otis West 81 Water Street.

It would be permissible to believe that the *Highland Mary* might have been down river from St. Louis between April 18th, when the *Buena Vista* docked, and May 1st, when it was scheduled to leave from St. Louis for St. Joseph, except for the following information contained in the April 28th 1849 edition of the *St. Louis Republican*:

The steamer, *Highland Mary*, left Council Bluffs on the 21st at 8:00 A.M. return down-stream to St. Louis.

A further checking of the St. Louis newspapers establishes that on 29 April 1849, the river steamer *Constitution* reached St. Luis from New Orleans. Under date of April 30th 1849, the *St. Louis Republican* reported:

The steamer, *Constitution*, reached this city yesterday from New Orleans with 450 deck passengers. The largest portion of whom are English and Welsh emigrants professing the faith of L.D.S.

This was the only steamer reported from New Orleans in 1849 carrying Welsh emigrants. Undoubtedly, this was the steamer which brought the Treharnes from New Orleans to St. Louis. This means that the family remained in New Orleans for approximately one week. This one week was enough to begin a chain of events which spelled death and tragedy in shocking proportions for the Treharnes. T. H. Lewis in his paper "The First Welsh Emigration 1849" wrote: "Cholera was prevalent at the time in New Orleans, as it was in many other places. These Welsh Saints had only one death from cholera there. Two others had died from other causes aboard ship."^{*}

Notes to Chapter Twelve

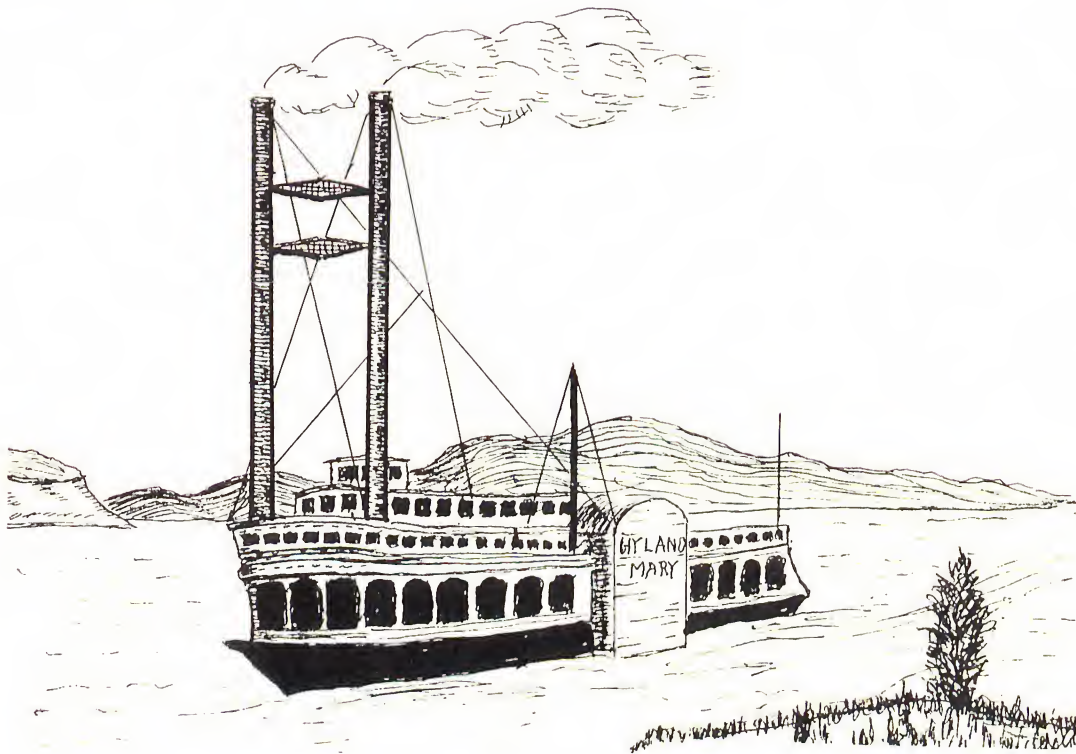
¹Cholera, which so horribly stalked and extinguished the lives of six of eleven of the Treharnes within a period of two years, is indigenous to Asia. A student could make an interesting study of its spread in the western world and parts of Europe in the 1840's and 1850's. It can be spread like fire by a carrier, who himself may not be suffering. How much cholera was spread by the restless, proselyting and emigrating members of the early Church? *The Millennial Star* reports epidemics of cholera in many parts of Wales and England during the early missionary days. Undoubtedly, the Indians received their tragic baptism of Asia's horrible scourge from the emigrants going west who had passed through the portals of New Orleans where ships from Asia arrived daily. The white man was spreading something besides Christianity.

It is not the purpose of this study to moralize, but it does seem that man's greatest destiny and hope lies in the discovery of those things which release him from the bonds of ignorance. "Know the truth and the truth shall make you free" applies to a Koch, who isolated the cholera organism, and a Jenner, who devised vaccines which can eliminate it, quite as much as it applies to the so-called higher endeavors of a more ecclesiastical nature.

^{*}T. H. Lewis, *Improvement Era* "The First Welsh Emigration" (1849).

Chapter Thirteen

Cholera and Death 1849-1850



In the latter part of April 1849, the six Treharnes, along with approximately 450 other deck passengers, set out from New Orleans for St. Louis. They had lost most of their goods and supplies, which were destroyed in the leaky holds of the *Buena Vista*. To what extent they had been able to restore those supplies is not known. It is probable

that at New Orleans they had partaken freely of fresh fruit and green vegetables which they had been denied while at sea. These fresh fruits and vegetables were likely alive with the plague of the City. Cleaning with the infected water would only increase the contamination. In this exposed and trapped condition they embarked into their future. How long was it before the horror struck?

It is likely that long before the *Constitution* reached St. Louis all joy and anticipation had been drowned out by the crying and moaning of parents and children. The disease is shocking in its manifestations. Dysentary and vomiting, with resulting dehydration and ensuing weakness and death was aboard the *Constitution* when the sick and anguished Welshmen saw the wharf of St. Louis on 28 April 1849.

I have no information of what occurred at St. Louis from April 28th to May 2nd, 1849. During that time, the Treharnes were no doubt ill and desperately concerned about their future. On the 2nd of May, they were, however, well enough to board the *Highland Mary* for Council Bluffs. It may even be that they remained aboard the *Constitution* until they boarded the *Highland Mary*.

The trip from St. Louis must have been horrible. Before reaching Council Bluffs, over one-third of their number died. Of all the hardships recounted in Mormon history, nothing compares to the naked tragedy which beset these humble Welsh pilgrims during the first week of May 1849. It has seemed strange to me that so much has been written about the wagon and handcart tragedies of the plains and so little of this terrible river journey.

In a short period about 100 hopeful, trusting, Godfearing seekers of truth died and were buried in forgotten and hidden graves.¹

The accounts which have been preserved are indeed "Heart Throbs" as recounted in the book of that title. One written by Sarah Jeremy is as follows:

Out of the 249 passengers aboard the *Highland Mary*, over one-third were stricken with the cholera while enroute from New Orleans to Council Bluffs. Men and women were lying on the deck, unable to help themselves and no one able to do anything for them. Their tongues and mouths were parched with thirst and they felt they were being consumed with fire, and yet they were advised by a Brother Benjamin Clapp at New Orleans not to drink any water if they were stricken. However, my little boy Thomas, who was nine years old at the time, crawled out of his bunk and drank the water off of some oatmeal that one of the ladies had put on the stove to cook and by so doing, his life was spared, but I lost three of my beautiful little girls in one night—Sarah, Margaret, and Mary. Coffins were made of rough boards and they were buried among the big timbers on the banks of the Missouri River. The grief of my husband and myself was almost unbearable, but we had faith in the Lord and were given comfort by an angel of mercy, Jane Treharne, who helped us pass through this terrible ordeal. Jane was twenty-one at the time.*

Jane Treharne herself recounted some of the tragedies of this horrible voyage to her children. They recalled her words as follows:

**Heart Throbs*, Vol. 4

At New Orleans they took the river boat to Council Bluffs, there being 269 Saints on board. It was only a short trip when cholera struck among some members of the boat and during the trip from New Orleans to Council Bluffs there were one hundred of the Saints that had died during that trip and had been buried on the banks of the River.*

It will be noted that the foregoing account recalls that Jane Treharne told her children that these tragic events occurred on the Mississippi River. It is more likely that she told them the Missouri River, as recounted by the quoted words of Sarah Jeremy. It may even be that Jane Treharne and other Welsh people in 1849 thought of the River from New Orleans to Council Bluffs as the Mississippi and failed to distinguished the two rivers from St. Louis upstream. I believe that the worst of the tragedy, perhaps almost all of it, occurred aboard the *Highland Mary* from St. Louis to Council Bluffs, on the waters and shores of the Missouri.

Note to Chapter Thirteen

¹The stories which have been preserved are in conflict as to the number who died from cholera on this fateful journey. Sarah Jeremy estimates the loss "at over one-third of the 249 souls" aboard the *Highland Mary*. In *Heart Throbs*, Vol. 4, it is written: "But death rode with them, for cholera claimed sixty lives, about one-fourth of the company." Jane Treharne placed the number at 100. Perhaps Jane's toll included those who died at Kaneshville after they arrived there in May 1849. It will be noted hereinafter that Jane and others remained at Kaneshville until 1852. It is also possible that the official reports were "played down" to avoid adverse reaction at home and in the mission fields.

*The *Life of Jane Treharne*, written by her children, George, Emma, and Lizzie

Chapter Fourteen

Edward Ashton in St. Louis 1851

During his early stay at St. Louis, Edward lived at a boarding house. If where he lived was typical the accommodations were very poor. The beds were hard, and there were as many bedsteads in each room as the space would allow. The boarders were called together by the ringing of a bell fixed to the top of the house. This was to permit not only the boarders in the house but the boarders who might be on the streets to know it was mealtime.

As soon as Edward was able, he started work digging coal at what is designated in his history as the "Gravary Coal Diggins," which were located about six miles from St. Louis.¹ He had never worked in coal mines before and lamented the fact that he was forced to do so at St. Louis, so that he could "conserve my funds and as soon as possible continue my journey to the Great Salt Lake."

I visited St. Louis in 1964, and took an extra two days to visit the places where Edward must have spent some of his time in 1851. The old Gravois Coal Diggins have been replaced by a large park. The "Diggins," as they were called, were located between Arsenal Street on the north, Gravois Road on the south, Grand Avenue on the east, and King's Highway on the west. "In the Old Gravois Coal Diggins," written by Mary Jane Boyer, many interesting accounts are written of these "Diggins" as they existed in 1851. She wrote:

That part of St. Louis was swampy in some places, poorly drained, and infested with mosquitoes...The Diggins was the name given to the area by the early English, Scotch, Irish and Welsh who were the first to create a settlement in that southwestern part of La Grande Prairie...

Included among the early settlers of the coal diggins were people of the Mormon religion...Latter-day Saints. Chief among the Mormons were the

Hazeldines, a Mormon preacher and his wife. The wife acted as midwife who delivered many of the babies born to the wives of the coal miners. The Hazeldines created beauty in that land with orchards and flowers and vegetable gardens still remembered with pleasure by descendants of early settlers of the diggings. One of these descendants who visited the Ann Hathoway Garden in England called Hazeldine Garden a regular Ann Hathoway Garden.*

While working at St. Louis, Edward united with a branch of the Church where he acted as a teacher "for about one year."*** The Mormons were apparently fairly active in St. Louis in 1850-1851. A local newspaper reported:

Although we have no Mormon Church in St. Louis, their numerical strength here is greater than may be imagined. They attend divine services twice each Sunday at Concert Hall and they celebrate their feasts and perform their devotional duties with the same regularity, if not in the same style, as their brethren in the valley. We learn frequently of Mormon balls and parties, and Concert Hall [still standing] was on several occasions filled with persons gathered to witness Mormon theatricals, performances, and entertainments. We have witnessed the congregation as it issued from the hall at the religious meetings on Sunday, and certainly we think it does not compare unfavorably with the other congregations.***

We, who are more than 100 years removed from the St. Louis frontier of 1851, have little conception of what a rapidly growing frontier was like. It was without adequate sewerage or walkways. When it stormed, the streets were a sea of mud and filth constantly churned by the feet of animals and restless inhabitants. On a damp, warm day in 1851, the City had an unforgiveable odor of human and animal waste, and was fecund with disease.

In 1851 the City must have been ugly and scarred. In the summer of 1849, shortly after the Treharnes left on the ill-fated *Highland Mary*, the City, after enduring the dreadful cholera plague, was set ablaze when the river steamer *White Cloud*, lying at the levee with a fleet of river steamers. Within a half hour the whole wharf for a distance of a mile was afire. The fire wiped out most of the downtown area and the entire wharfage. The wreckage, charring, and smoke damage left by the holocaust no doubt created a scene which caused Edward to long for the green beauty of his far away Welsh home.

In this ugly and unsanitary environment many, including Edward, succumbed to sickness. He briefly reports:

Was quite sick there during the summer of 1851 until about the middle of July when I started for Salt Lake to cross the plains, and it took us all the summer remaining until September 29, 1852, when we arrived in Salt Lake Valley.****

*Mary Jane Boyer, *The Old Gravois Coal Diggins*.

**Life of Edward Ashton

****St. Louis Republican*, 8 May 1851

****Life of Edward Ashton

It is probable that he had typhoid which was rampant in St. Louis in 1851.

I wonder if Edward was aware of some of the interesting events which were taking place in St. Louis in 1851. Abraham Lincoln campaigned there as a Congressman from Illinois, assisting the Mayor of St. Louis and others in their campaign for election. The Mayor noted in a contemporary writing that Lincoln was too "backwoodsie" speaking of "plowing, rail splitting, turnips and taters" with too much unsophistication for St. Louis voters.

The events which were to lead to the Civil War were taking shape, especially in St. Louis. Dred Scott was tried there in 1850. The second trial took place in 1851 at the old courthouse. The trial court, after hearing the case, held that Dred Scott was a United States citizen. The United States Supreme Court paved the way for the Civil War by overruling the trial court. All of this caused a great stir in St. Louis. Did Edward view these events? What did he think? We can only guess. His own country had outlawed slavery years before.

Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee, who, in later years, confronted one another during the Civil War, were at St. Louis at this time. Lee, as a top West Point graduate, did much of the River control engineering and construction still in existence on the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. Grant, on the other hand, who had quit the army or was removed because of excessive drinking, was hauling coal. He was cited by the local authorities for beating and starving his team.

Notes to Chapter Fourteen

¹The correct designation of the place where Edward lived is the Gravois Coal Diggings, not the Gravery Diggings. This, of course, is unimportant, except that anyone visiting the area would be misled. The place to go is where the present park is located between Arsenal Street on the north, Gravois Road on the south, Grand Avenue on the east, and King's Highway on the west.

Chapter Fifteen

Kanesville 1849-1852

Jane Treharne, and the surviving members of her family, arrived at Kanesville (Council Bluffs) sometime in May 1849.* The City is situated in the mouth of a small valley beside a stream called Indian Creek. When the Welshmen arrived in 1849, some of the early Church members were still living in large holes in the sides of the hills which had been dug by the Illinois members of the Church who had fled from Nauvoo three years before.

On July, 13th 1849, Dan Jones started westward from Kanesville with 100 wagons containing most of the Welsh contingent. In a letter bearing this date, he wrote to William Phillips in Wales, stating that he was in the "land of the Omaha." There was no time to describe the scene fully as "the mosquitoes were biting." He was on the point of venturing "into the depths of the westerly regions, out of touch with civilization and into the midst of the red man in the forest lands." It seems that Dan Jones, at that time, had a poor knowledge of the plains to the west. I wonder why he did not say something about the cruel tragedy which had beset his followers aboard the *Highland Mary*. Was he afraid that such a report would hurt the missionary effort?

The Welshmen, under the direction of Dan Jones, were accompanied by another contingent under the direction of George A. Smith.** It is probable that this entire group comprised the 100 wagons referred to by Dan Jones.

Before leaving Kanesville, Dan Jones arranged for some of the Company to remain for the time being, and for a Welsh Branch of the Church to be organized, with William

*History of Jane Treharne, compiled by her children, George, Emma, and Lizzie

**T. H. Lewis, *Imp. Era*, "First Welsh Emigration", 1849.

Morgans (of Rhymney, South Wales) in charge.* A Welsh newspaper was published there. I have not been able to determine the name of this publication. The Welsh Branch which remained was known as Cambria's Camp. This was at the very height of the California Gold Rush. The Gold Rush made Kanesville in 1849, and for some years thereafter, the most hectic frontier of the west. William Morgan, in a letter written to Wales at this time, wrote: "Our town is like a seething cauldron these days, and as full as Merthyr (Merthyr Tydfil) market on a Saturday."

The Treharnes were in such a tragic condition when they arrived that they were forced to remain at Cambria's Camp until they could recoup their health and economic condition sufficiently to continue westward. Jane's father had survived the river ordeal but remained mortally ill. Jane too was confined to bed in a critical condition. The health of the other three children had been seriously impaired.

In the No. 8 Edition of "Early Scenes in L.D.S. Church History," the following is written:

In the winter of 1850 Elder Able Evans lived at Council Bluffs, on the eastern bank of the Missouri River. A great many of the Saints were there at the time, working or awaiting the return of fine weather before starting across the plains. The locality was somewhat noted for its insalubriety, but during that winter an unusually large amount of sickness prevailed. Some of the more prominent Elders were left busy going from house to house administering to the sick among the Saints, and scores, perhaps hundreds, of cases of healing occurred under their hands, many of which were quite remarkable . . . One of these concerning Jane Treharne is reported as follows: Her mother had died previously . . . she did not even see her mother at the time of her death, and even though she was critically ill she requested administration so that she could have enough strength to attend her father's funeral, he having died in October, 1850.**

The story is completed in an account written by Jane Treharne's children, as follows:

During their stay here, Jane had been sick for a considerable time and so bad for two weeks that she had not been able to take a mouthful of food, when she heard of the death of her father. In her weak condition, this intelligence was a heavy blow to her. Her mother had died previously and had been buried without her having the privilege of being with her during her sickness, or even seeing her face when dead, and the thought of being deprived of this privilege in the case of her father almost overcame her. She had, during her sickness, felt a strong desire to live, and now in addition to that, she was anxious to see her dead father before he was buried, and attend his funeral.

Some of the Elders came in and administered to her, but they were not men in whom she had a great deal of faith, and she failed to receive any benefit

*T. H. Lewis, *Imp. Era*, "First Welsh Emigration", 1849.

**Early Scenes in L.D.S. Church History, No. 8 Edition

from their administration. After awhile, however, Brother Evans (Abel) called to see her, and of learning of her desire to attend her father's funeral, he promised her without any hesitation that she would do so. Placing his hands on her head he rebuked the sickness with which she was prostrated and pronounce the blessing of health upon her. She arose immediately from her bed and rode six miles that same day and saw her father buried.*

It was during this tragic year of 1850 that Jane's older brother and his wife emigrated to America. They were aboard the *Joseph Badger*. They had with them their two small children. All four of them expired of cholera somewhere between New Orleans and St. Louis where they, like their grandfather and grandmother, lie in unmarked graves.* News of this added tragedy must have further shocked the Treharnes at Kanesville to the point that they must have wondered what would happen next.

The pitiful financial and physical condition of the Treharnes during this period is difficult to comprehend and appreciate. Fatherless and motherless, they were now obliged to go their separate ways in a desperate effort not only to survive, but to recoup for the further accomplishment of their purpose—to reach their destination.

Sage, Jane's sister, who was seventeen, first kept house for Samuel Leigh, whose wife had recently died, leaving him with four young children. Later, Sam married Sage's sister Mary. *Sage then worked for a man by the name of McGinnis, who taught school for the Pottowattamie Indians. While she was working for McGinnis, smallpox broke out in Kanesville. The Evan M. Greene family all contracted the disease. Sage also suffered from this plague, but had recovered so that she was able to care for the Greenes. This association initiated a friendship which lasted for the lives of the Greenes and Sage Treharne. Sage remained with this family and when the Greenes crossed the plains in 1852, she traveled with them.*

I have been unable to learn what Sarah Treharne did at Kanesville, only that she worked in the home of "one of the Church members." William, who was in his early teens, no doubt had little trouble finding all sorts of odd jobs in this bustling frontier town. It would be interesting to know which of the girls mothered him during this interesting period. All we know about Jane is that she "went to work in a Boarding School and did the cooking for the students."*

Prior to 1849, Kanesville was almost entirely Mormon. After the 1849 gold rush it grew rapidly, so that by 1852 there were about 7,000 citizens, including those who lived in the suburb of Carterville which was east of Mosquito Creek. The statement that it was almost entirely Mormon needs qualification. Many of the members were followers of Joseph Smith, the Martyred Prophet. They believed that Brigham Young was a usurper. The same was true of many of those who belonged to the Church at St. Louis where Edward Ashton was living during this period. It was during this time that "The Great Schism" in Mormon history was taking place. Most, however, at Kanesville, were loyal to Brigham Young, and were only biding their time for the further trip west. There was more dissent at St. Louis than there was at Kanesville. Edward Ashton and Jane Treharne, needless to say, were loyal to "Brother Brigham."

*History of Jane Treharne

Kanesville, as it existed in 1852, considering it was a frontier “jumping off” place, was very orderly. The Honorable Homer H. Field and Joseph R. Reed, in their *History of Pottowattamie County*, had the following to state about the Mormons:

No more industrious, frugal and temperate community was ever known. Among them were mechanics of almost every kind, and they proceeded to build a city here which they called Kanesville in honor of a brother of the Arctic Explorer, who had been a staunch friend during their persecution. Without this halting place to rest, make repairs and lay in supplies, it is hard to conceive how they could ever have made a one thousand mile trip across the plains and mountains.

At this time the whole of the Pottowattamie County, which was much larger then than now, as well as considerable adjoining territory, was under the exclusive control of the Mormons. During the rush westward, emigrants would sometimes have to wait for days to ferry across the river.*

The newspaper for the town was Whig, Mormon owned, and called *The Frontier Guardian*. It lasted for four years, terminating at the time of the big exodus in 1852. The Postmaster was Evan M. Greene, the same Evan Greene whose family Sage attended and with whom some of the Treharnes traveled in their 1852 trek to the west.

In November of 1851, Ezra T. Benson and Jedediah M. Grant were sent from Salt Lake City to urge the members of the Church at Kanesville to hasten their journey westward. There was a note of urgency in the epistle which these men carried. It had been prepared and signed by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards. In this epistle, the “Saints of Pottowattamie” we are told:

We have been calling to the Saints in Pottowattamie ever since we left them to come away; but there has continually been an opposing spirit, whispering, as if it were—stay another year, and get better fitout. If a man will not gather when he has a chance, he will be affected with the Devil. His property will go to waste, his family fall by sickness, and destruction and misery will be on his path; even so has it been with some of you, and soon will it be with more of you, if you do not hearken to this call and come away. What are you waiting for? Have you any excuse for not coming?***

This admonishment must have sounded a hollow note when it fell on the ears of the Treharnes and Edward Ashton in the spring of 1852. Already six Treharnes had given their lives. Edward had barely saved his own. In a sense, they were just catching their breath from “destruction and misery . . . on their path.” It must have been small comfort to realize that these “afflictions” were “of the Devil.” They were really the results of ignorance, not the Devil.

The epistle pointed out that their condition was better than that of those who had preceded them. They were told:

*Homer H. Field and Joseph R. Reed, *History of Pottowattamie County*.

**Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards, an Epistle signed in 1852.

You have all of you, unitedly, a far better chance than we had when we started as Pioneers to find this place. You have better teams and more of them. You have as good food and more of it; you have as much natural strength as we have had to come; our women and children have walked here, and been blessed in walking here, and barefoot too . . . And we say again, come home.*

The epistle mentions for the first time in Mormon history the use of handcarts, which were not to be used in quantity until years later. It stated:

And if you can get one good wagon and team to five families, and five teams to 100 souls, or no teams at all, more than cows and calves to your handcarts, you can come here with greater comfort and safety . . . than the Pioneers.*

The epistle lamented the schism at St. Louis and again struck fear into the hearts of the faithful, as follows:

It is a day of sacrifice and those who are ready to sacrifice and do their duty, and come home they may save being burned. How long will the Saints in St. Louis remain where they are? Arise and come with the Saints of Pottowattamie and you shall be blessed.*

It is clear from the November 1851 epistle that the Church leaders at Salt Lake were aware of the split which was occurring in the Church at both Kanesville and St. Louis. The urging in the epistle fell on many deaf ears. Many remained at St. Louis and Council Bluffs where they built churches and worshipped as members of The Reorganized Church. This was especially true at St. Louis. All did not go according to plan in these troubled early days of Mormon history.

Jedediah M. Grant and Ezra T. Benson arrived at Kanesville in February 1852. They had traveled from Salt Lake, over South Pass in the Rockies, through the withering cold of Wyoming and Nebraska in the middle of winter to bring this urgent message. These were men of belief and energy. To them no errand was too difficult, no task impossible.

I have been unable to find a journal compiled by contemporaries who were closely associated with the Treharnes and Edward Ashton, either at Kanesville or St. Louis, during this period. The best source material comes from the Journal of Captain D. A. Tidwell, who was Captain of one of the Companies which formed at Kanesville in the early spring and summer of 1852. He recounts in detail the message of Jedediah M. Grant and Ezra T. Benson, given in February 1852, from the epistle of November 1851, quoted from herein. His Journal recites without correction:

It is reported that we shall have a very large emigration this season, much larger than has been before since the Mormons have been here, there are 2000 Saints waiting at St. Louis to come to Salt Lake Valley, besides an immense quantity of people coming on for California and Oregon.**

*Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards, an Epistle signed in 1852.

***Journal of Captain D. A. Tidwell*, B.Y.U. Library

From his Journal, it appears that the Companies were formed early in the spring and started to leave as soon as the grass began to grow. The great problem was the poverty of most all who remained. The task was how to gather enough to provide for the journey. He writes:

When I talk of the poor it is those who are unable to help themselves away without aid, for to come to the point, we are all poor.*

This points up the remarkable quality of the Mormon migration. It differed from the rush to California and Oregon where the motive of the traveler was generally greed and personal improvement. The early Mormons were actuated by religious motive. They cared for each other, as they had promised the reporter of *The Banner* at Swansea, three years before. The poor helped the poor and the lame helped the crippled. This required organization, unselfishness, and faith. These remarkable people had all three in abundance.

Captain Tidwell, in his Journal, recited the calling of all members of the Company together for the purpose of determining what each could do. The following gives a *feel* of the problems:

The clerk then called over the names on the list and each answered to their name what they would do. John Tidwell, I do not know as yet what I can do, but I shall do all in my power when I get things in shape, then tell you what I can do. I don't think that I can take anyone, for my wife is sickly and will not be able to do much except it be to take a little luggage for someone, for I have my tools and other things to carry. John M. King, I am made up and shall have eight in my wagon. Thomas Robins, I am in a right shape, I take my mother who through misfortunes since she has been in this Country is on my hands and has been on for the last two years, and besides keeping her I have paid my tithing and she I consider as much Church property as anyone else. George Bowering, made arrangements. Telemachus Rogers, I take one and do as much as I can otherways. Daniel Shearer, I can't give any encouragement. I have no team, and I think that I will sell my wagon and go as a passenger. David Adams, I do not know that I can haul my own provisions as yet. Alex Ingram supposed that he can go. John Andrews, I do not feel that I can take myself, if I can sell my things I can go. Thomas McKee, I do not know how it will go with me yet, I have only got a small team.

It was finally stated:

Let us make our calculations to round up our shoulders, and all that do not desire to stay here let them be like clay in the hand of the potter, and now go to work, and not expect to crowd upon anyone above their strength. Again let us be willing to father up all and go along, in the first place do as much as you can for your own and then do as much as you can for others, and in so doing we shall see brighter prospects.*

*Journal of Captain D. A. Tidwell, B.Y.U. Library

The members of Captain Tidwell's Company were called upon to make donations to Ezra T. Benson for his support in returning to Salt Lake. These donations show the poverty of these poor people:

Enoch Crowel 50 cts., Daniel Shearer 75 cts., Lydia Coulson 1 pair of gloves, Henry Rodgers \$1.00, Edson King 50 cts., Telemachus Rogers \$2.00 in blacksmithing or store pay. Oren D. Farlin 75 cts., groceries, Jeremiah Leivett 50 cts. in corn or potatoes, Franklin J. Daves \$1.00 in corn or potatoes, Eleazer King Junr 50 cts. in corn, David Adams 50 cts., Andrew Whitlock 50 cts.*

All was not *rosy*. They had their differences, and the Captains, who, with the vote of their Companies, were almost completely autonomous, took a strong hand. Thus, at one meeting, it was resolved:

There was a move made, that inasmuch as any had desire to back out if they undertook to use any false arguments or influence to work to the disadvantage of the emigration they should be dropped from the Church.*

Apparently there were several unattended women, widows, and orphans with Captain Tidwell's Company. Inasmuch as the Treharnes were in this class, the following insert without correction is included from the Tidwell Journal to show how these people were handled:

Mary Skinner, I have 2 heifers, if I cannot get in a wagon I must stay here, I have some provisions. I have nothing but clothing and provisions to take and I want both clothing and shoes before I go away, and have 2 in family. In fact, through the preceding, Sister Skinner manifested a spirit of contention and confusion, and was finally told by the Captain that she had got to govern and rule herself, and also had to chage her feelings before we want to say anything more to you. Jane Mason, I have not got much to boast of and what I have is in your hands, I am willing to do and take what you say, we are 2 in family, my boy is 10 years old. Pelena Booth, I have nothing but my 2 boys. I have neither cow nor provisions. Ann Wilkshire, I have not much. I have 3 steers and one at the Lake, my cow is not fit to go to the Valley, and I want both clothing and provisions. Mary Southwick, my prospects are the same as they were. I have 2 cows and can arrange for provisions. I have in family myself and 2 little boys.'"*

The preparations for the trip west drove prices "sky high." "Flour is now standing at \$16.00 per barrel or eight dollars per hundred." By May the "grass is springing up very nicely but the ferries are so crowded so that we have to wait some little until the crowd of Californianas have passed over."*

By May 18th, Captain Tidwell, unlike the Californianas who were crowding the ferries in their anxiety to get to gold, was worrying about the poor. He writes:

*Journal of Captain D. A. Tidwell, B.Y.U. Library

I can't get the consent of my mind to go away and leave any of the poor behind.

So he gathered his Captains of ten together and exhorted them as follows:

There must be some means provided to help them . . . if the poor is removed and we do not exert ourselves to take them we cannot expect the honor of the same.*

Finally, the good Captain had his poor gathered, his Captains ready, his provisions stored, and was ready to cross the Wide Missouri for the journey west. On June 9th, he reached the ferry and was mortified when he found that his pre-arranged passage was delayed:

. . . we discovered that one of the boats were devoted entirely to the removal of Californians and about an hour before sunset the boat hands were mostly quite tipsy, the attractions of the Latoon was far more powerful than the salvation of we Pilgrims, but to end this part of the story it was Tuesday (sic) forenoon until all our Company were safely landed this side of the Missouri. With all their faith and high resolves, they too, as all of us had at times, "feet of clay."*

Within days or even hours after Captain Tidwell crossed the Missouri with his widows and orphans and others, the Treharnes and Edward Ashton made the same crossing, perhaps with the same tipsy ferrymen.

Edward arrived at Kanessville sometime during the spring of 1852. I do not know whether he came over land or by boat. He was probably part of the large contingent of 2,000 members at St. Louis referred to by Jedediah M. Grant and Ezra Taft Benson. A substantial part of this 2,000 remained at St. Louis and associated with The Reorganized Church. If we knew the history of this group better we would probably find that a large number of St. Louis members of the Church came to Kanessville in some organized manner. This was the Mormon way of doing things. People who meet together regularly in an organized religious endeavor usually act together in other matters.

I do not know how long Edward remained at Kanessville. He may have paused there just long enough to become associated with one of the companies being organized for the trip west. Again, if we knew all the facts, we would likely find that the trip west was planned from St. Louis, and that Edward, along with others from that area, was organized with other Welshmen at Kanessville into a wagon company, probably in much the same manner as that engaged in by Captain Tidwell and his companions. We do know that the Company was known as Daniel Jones' Company.** I have searched for some record of this Company, but have found none. It is not to be confused with the Dan Jones Company of 1850.

*Journal of Captain D. A. Tidwell, B.Y.U. Library
 **Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah, p. 724

From this point on, Jane Treharne and Edward Ashton are in the same general area at the same time. This remains true for the remainder of their lives. They probably have not yet met, but will soon do so on the plains.

Notes to Chapter Fifteen

¹I have no more than family tradition to support this. Kumen Jones, a son of Sage Treharne, spent a great deal of time and money trying to find where this family died on the Mississippi or Missouri River. He was unsuccessful. Genealogy records at the L.D.S. Genealogy Library confirm that John and his family died in 1850 on the Mississippi River. Later records confirm.

²The Greene's traveled with the Allen Weeks' Company arriving in Great Salt Lake City on October 12, 1852—*Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, page 899.

Chapter Sixteen

Westward Ho 1852 *(Written in 1970)*

All of the Treharnes, with the possible exception of Mary, who had married Samuel Leigh in 1850 at Kanesville, started for their final destination in late spring or early summer of 1852. They were immediately behind Captain Tidwell. The only way we have of fixing their starting time is by estimating the length of time it took to cross the plains. We know that they arrived at Salt Lake the last part of September and the first part of October. Edward Ashton must have left about the same time, as he too arrived in Salt Lake late in September. Inasmuch as they were all Welsh, it is probable that they were associated in some manner. We do know that Edward probably did not meet Jane Treharne until sometime later, on the plains.

Edward traveled in the Daniel Jones' Company which arrived in Salt Lake on 29 September 1852. He had with him "my friend, with whom I got acquainted on board the ship, *Joseph Badger*. He was sick and had been so while crossing the plains with ague and fever." Edward T. Ashton, writing of his father, adds no more than the following: "In 1852, after a tiresome trip, he arrived in Utah with others leaving the states."*

The account written in *The Life of Jane Treharne Ashton*, recites:

Now after the death of her father, it left four daughters and one son. The brother William being the youngest of the family at that time, reached 10 years of age. (He was 14). Undaunted by what had happened, the four young ladies and one young brother fitted themselves with a wagon and a pair of oxen and

*Account written by Edward T. Ashton on his father's 80th birthday.

left Winter Quarters in the spring of 1852 and after walking most of the distance across the plains, Jane being able, walked barefooted part of the way.*

This account, if accuracy is important, is overly simplified. Mary Treharne married Samuel Leigh at Kaneshville in 1850. She may have come to Utah with him prior to 1852. The reason for so concluding is that Daniel Leigh and others met the Company in which the Treharnes were traveling about 80 miles from Salt Lake City. I think, Samuel may have been in Salt Lake for some time. It is unlikely that Samuel left without Mary, as he had three sons living at that time. It is possible, of course, but unlikely, that Mary remained at Council Bluffs with the children.

We know that Sage traveled westward with the Evan M. Greene family. The account written by Sage's family recites the following:

When the Greene family came to Utah she [Sage] crossed the plains with them. They crossed in the Allen Weeks Company and arrived in Salt Lake City October 12, 1852.³ When crossing the plains, she carried little Lulu whenever they had to walk.

Owen Roberts, who married Sarah, the oldest of the Treharne girls, crossed the ocean aboard the *Buena Vista*, and was one of those who crossed the plains with Dan Jones in 1849. He did not marry Sarah until sometime after she arrived in Salt Lake. The record states that she came to Utah in 1852 in the Captain Greene Company. Apparently William was with her, for it is stated that he too came in the Captain Greene Company.

This leaves Jane. The record states that she arrived in Salt Lake City in the latter part of September 1852. The difficulty with this is that the record also states that she came in the Allen Weeks Company, which the Sage Jones' story recites arrived on October 12, 1852. The probability is that they all came about the same time, and that the different dates relate to poor memories, without records to support the recollection, or that the wagons were strung out over the countryside so that they arrived at different dates.

It is clear that Jane, although traveling with the same group, was with a different wagon than some, if not all, of the others. Emma Richards, a daughter of Jane Treharne, related to her children that Jane walked barefoot most of the way and "came with some family (unnamed), the father quick tempered. He would throw the family bible out each time he got mad at his wife . . . Jane would pick it up and carry it until his temper cooled, at which time it would be restored to the wagon. This happened over and over again on the trip west."

I am satisfied that all of the Welsh people remaining at Kaneshville in 1852 left at about the same time, and that they were all under the general direction of William Morgans. In this group were not only Edward Ashton, but Jane, Sage, Sarah, and William Treharne.

The best proof of this fact comes from one of the most interesting and important incidents in the Ashton-Treharne history. The event occurred at some unidentified spot on the plains at a moment when life and death stood by in a storm awaiting the birth of a

**Life of Jane Treharne*, written by her children, George, Emma, and Lizzie.

child. The event is told by Naoma Richards, wife of Edward and Jane's grandson, Ralph. It is as follows:

My grandfather, Isaac Laney, ordained Edward Ashton a Seventy and Grandma Richards (Emma Treharne Ashton Richards) and I often talked of our Pioneer ancestors. One story that was particularly interesting to me was how her father and mother met. They were apparently in the same company but in different groups. Both were single, both converts to the Church and both were crossing the plains to Utah. One day camp was made early because of an expected new arrival. The rain was pouring down and a large canvas was stretched as shelter for the expectant mother and midwife. Then a strong wind came up and tore away the canvas. Willing and youthful hands were there to grasp, each a corner of the makeshift shelter and keep it in place. Edward Ashton held one corner and Jane Treharne another. Their first meeting.

The leaders at Salt Lake were wise enough to send from the City information and entertainment for the encouragement and amusement of the emigrants. Thus, Captain Margetts and five of his associates traveled east, visiting with the trains. Captain Tidwell noted their appearance with his Company, as follows:

The six brethren from the Salt Lake Valley was also in our midst. The amusements commenced with the Salt Lake boys singing a song, and the brass band that is with us were present and gave us some delicious and melodious music followed up with dancing and song singing, and it concluded by some remarks from Captain Margetts about the prospects at Salt Lake. The things which he said was both cheering and encouraging to the humble Saints, but calculated to discourage and blithe the expectations of the half-hearted. And they closed with one of the songs of Zion.

Cholera and the other dread diseases followed the Companies west, and in Tidwell's Journal these tragic deaths were periodically and frequently mentioned, viz.,

June 6, 1852, the wife of Franklin Davies departed this life by the grasp of the foul and dreaded disease cholera. . . June 28, while we were here we buried Lewis Reno Vance, who died this morning just as we were leaving camp of 'Diarrhoea' [cholera] after laying about a week ill.

The Companies did not follow in order. Because of the problem of forage for the animals, they ranged some distance from the rivers which marked their course. One Company would pass another and wagons would sometimes transfer from one Company to another. Sometimes the Companies even joined with the Californians. Captain Tidwell reports: "Early this morning about a dozen of wagons passed us, being part of the eighth Company of Saints mixed up with Californians."¹¹

I believe that in 1852 there were approximately 2,500 wagons strung out between Kaneshville and Salt Lake. This would include the Californians and Oregonians as well as the Mormons and would mean that there would be an average of two and one-half

wagons for every mile. This hardly fits the concept of Pioneers on an empty prairie with wolves and Indians lurking over every hill. It is probable that the Indians by now were the ones who were endangered by the white man's onslaught of civilization.

There were two necessities—water and grass. An important item was wood. The emigrant trains were rapidly consuming the grass and wood, so that travel became a constant search for food and fuel. When grass got scarce, they employed expedients. Thus, Captain Tidwell reports:

In short time the Company formed into correll. At dark in the evening the Company was called together for meeting. It was opened by prayer by Ezra T. Benson, another address by Franklin D. Richards, late from England. He was followed by Erastus Snow, late from Denmark. Then another tune, after which Ezra T. Benson arose and addressed the congregation on the necessity of dividing the Company into two parts called the first and second wing. In a few minutes it was moved and carried that we separate into two wings for the benefit of feed for the cattle and in the whole to accelerate the speed of travelings. Then Elder Benson nominated Captain Andrew Whitlock to be the Captain of the second wing and to be subject and under the control of Captain Tidwell, and to take the weak teams and to go on ahead of the first wing. Carried unanimous and tomorrow the Company can make all necessary arrangements.

This did not meet with general approval and there was "manifested a spirit of contention and rebellion and some of these were in authority."

There were often cases of desertion. The following from the Tidwell Journal cites and example:

Captain John M. King deserted his ten and the Company went on ahead. It was said by W. C. Dunbar that he came out and said that he was going upon his own responsibility and would not be answerable for another man's sins. It is well known to most of the Company that he has been harping with a contentious spirit ever since we was reorganized at the cold springs the other side of the Missouri River.

And again:

September 7th. This evening Captain Russell from the eleventh Company passes us and also Captain Smith from the twelfth, as deserters from their Companies.

Still there were good times too, for they were young and active people. Thus, at Greenriver, Captain Tidwell reports:

Isaiah Vanderburge, a colored man, was baptized for the remission of sins and confirmed . . . At night we had a dance which went off well, for in a general thing all seemed cheerful and merry.

An account of William Morgan's Welsh exodus from Kanesville is contained in an article written by T. H. Lewis, entitled, "The First Welsh Emigration, 1849," and states:

In 1852, William Morgans and his company, which included some post 1840 emigrants moved westward. With them were fifty wagons and ten carts. In a letter to Wales, William Morgans stated that he was captain of the guards and William Beddoe (of Penydarren, Merthyr) the clerk of the camp. Among other officers names by him were Captain D. Evans (Llanelly, South Wales), John Rees (Merthyr Tydfil). H. Evans, the former president of the West Glamorgan Conference. One gathers from his letter that conditions on the western trek were less formidable than they had been in 1849. 'The Saints are in good health; everyone has his canvas tent as white as snow. Much milk in our camp is being thrown away as casually as is the bath water used by two or three Merthyr colliers. We have more milk than we can use.' When this group was within eighty miles of Salt Lake City, whom did they meet but Captain Dan Jones who was returning from Utah to Wales.

When Mountain Creek was reached, some noise from a westerly direction was heard. That 'noise' marked the coming of three of the early Welsh emigrants who had traveled between thirty and forty miles from the 'valley' to meet the newcomers. Those three were Thomas Jones (Hirwaud, Glamorgan), Morgan Hugh (Pontyates), and William Jones, son of Evan Jones (Aberdare, Glamorgan). With them was a load of fruit, including watermelons, potatoes, and onions. A little farther on, the emigrants met another group of Welshmen who had likewise come to meet them, and in that group were John Parry (Newmarket, North Wales), Daniel Leigh, Owen Roberts, Thomas Jones, and Caldwelladr Owen.

This particular letter from William Morgans gave some further details of the journey across the plains. Hundreds of buffaloes were seen coming to drink at the Platte River. The Indians were 'kindly folk' if approached in the right spirit. When William Morgans and his company happened to meet some hundreds of Sioux Indians they were welcomed with the greeting, 'Ho do? Mormon, good.' The Indians spread their blankets on the ground and invited the Welshmen to sit down with them to smoke 'the pipe of peace.'

It will be noted that two of the visitors included in the foregoing list were to become husbands of two of the Treharnes. Thomas Jones married Sage, and Owen Roberts married Sarah. Samuel Leigh apparently was not present (unless the Daniel Leigh was Samuel). He and Mary probably lived at the time in the Spanish Fork area.

No doubt Jane and Edward were in the same general area and had likely visited with each other since their dramatic meeting on the trip west.

The final stages of the journey were the most difficult. They had to cross the Big Mountain and the Little Mountain and come down the difficult terrain of Killian's Canyon (Emigration) over an early fall of snow.¹ At that time of the year even the snow could not have concealed the wonderful beauty of the Big and Little Mountains in the fall.

When the late September and early October emigrants streamed into the Valley in 1852, they represented the last remnants of approximately 1,400 Mormon teams and not less than 10,000 people.² They were "the caboose" of the Exodus of the faithful members of the Church who resided at Kanesville and St. Louis in 1852.³

At this "end of the road" and beginning of a new stage of their lives, Edward Ashton and Jane Treharne could look back on a long trail of hardship and tragedy. The

future could not be worse; it had to improve. They, therefore, were no doubt full of hope, and indeed they had reason to be. They were young, they had a belief, without which people are without anchor or sail, and they belonged to an aggressive society set free in a new and unspoiled land of promise.

Chapter Seventeen

Great Salt Lake City 1852-1853

In 1852, it was Brigham Young's custom to have the emigrants met by Captain Pitt and his band. They rode in Brigham Young's spacious carriage. On such occasions, the residents of the City lined the route, carrying melons and cakes. The local artillery would fire a nine round salute, and the tired but exuberant emigrants would be directed to Union Square, where their wagons were unloaded, and where, before they were disbanded, Brigham Young gave them a welcome and instructions.

The emigrants at this time saw Brigham Young at the very peak of his great leadership and command of his people. He appeared as a man sure of himself, fully aware of his responsibilities and capabilities and of the importance of his position. He was not large, as is generally supposed. He was approximately five feet six inches tall, and in 1852, had not yet become portly, as in later years. He was well balanced and had very delicate features, his hands and feet being especially small.¹ His eyes were blue and his brown hair, which was just beginning to grey, hung loosely down his back to about his collar. His eyes were very direct and perceptive, and one of his most noticeable qualities was a dramatic bearing which caught the attention of anyone in his company.

His welcome and advice to the emigrants was to the point. He immediately dispelled any illusions any may have had that there was food and shelter for those who were able, (whether they worked or not.) They were told that they would drink the best water and breathe the best air in the world, and that food and work for the willing was abundant.² Some, he explained, would want to travel to the outlying settlements where help was needed and land and opportunity available for everyone. The people were reminded that the good things available to them were theirs for the effort necessary to obtain them, but that their first obligation was to live the gospel. He reminded them that there was no place in the Valley for idlers. After he had finished he blessed them all, and

then admonished those in the crowd who had been in the City for some time to make sure that the travelers first evening in the City was a memorable one.³

The first Welsh who arrived in Salt Lake City in 1849 formed a settlement on the west bank of the Jordan River at about 48th South.⁴ Many of these later went to Wales, Sanpete County, where their descendants still reside.⁵ Others moved to the 15th and 16th Camps, which became the Fifteenth and Sixteenth wards.⁶

By the time Edward Ashton arrived the Fifteenth Ward was fairly well established. He and his sick friend put up their tent in that area amongst their Welsh friends.

Jane apparently found immediate employment as a domestic in the house of President John Taylor, who had only recently returned from his Mission in Europe. An amusing incident of some interest occurred at this time which has some significance. It is reported as follows:

When she (Jane Treharne) came to the Valley of Salt Lake City and went to John Taylor's to work, she said she would work at his home only on one condition. That was that he would not ask her to marry him, as she already had a young man. She worked for John Taylor until 1854.*

The writer wonders if Jane was even asked, and in the absence of a proposal, why the anticipatory rejection? At least from this small incident there is some flattering suggestion that Edward was preferred to John Taylor, even if John was already taken—several times over! It also indicated some idea of Jane's reaction to the "benefits" of polygamy.

Before leaving Kaneshville, Sage Treharne had promised to marry Thomas Jones. When she arrived in Salt Lake City "she had become so attached to the Greene family that it took a good motherly talk from Sister Greene to get her to keep her promise." I wonder if Sister Greene was somewhat concerned because of the common occurrence of a second wife coming from such a situation.

Sage married Thomas Jones in October 1852 and immediately moved with him to Spanish Fork, where her oldest son, Alma, was born. She and her husband moved the next year to Cedar City, where they lived at the old Cedar Fort.⁷ Mary and her husband Sam Leigh went to Cedar at about the same time. Sam being especially trained as a pattern maker, was sent by Brigham Young to assist in the planned making of iron.

Sarah Treharne married Owen Roberts at an unknown date, probably in 1852. They promptly moved into their one room Fifteenth Ward home located at 645 West First South. William seems to have attached himself to either Sage or Mary. In 1852 he was 14 years of age. When he died in 1907 (at 69), the obituary notice in the *Deseret News* noted that William was a Pioneer of Cedar City. Inasmuch as he lived in Salt Lake City after he married Ann Hughes in 1864, his Pioneer experience at Cedar City must have been with either Sage and Thomas Jones or with Mary and Samuel Leigh, all being in Cedar City by 1854.

Edward Ashton explains his whereabouts and what he was doing in the winter of 1852-1853, as follows:

*Life of Jane Treharne, written by George, Emma, and Lizzie, her children.

When we arrived in the valley of Salt Lake . . . we were located in a tent in the 15th Ward. My friend, with whom I got acquainted on board the ship, *Joseph Badger*, was with me. He was sick and had been so while we were crossing the plains with ague and fever. We were quite destitute. He was unable to work and I worked and did the best I could to get something for us to eat, but it was very hard to get along until spring when we started in March trying to find something to do.*

I do not know what work Edward did during that winter. In a brief account of Edward Ashton's "Home Life," by George Ashton and his daughters, Lizzie and Emma, it is written:

In his work as a shoemaker, making shoes for John Taylor's family, he became acquainted with a charming young lady that was employed in Taylor's home, by the name of Jane Treharne.

It will be noted that Emma had remembered that her mother had met Edward earlier during a dramatic birth incident on the plains. If this is true, it is possible that Jane may have helped Edward, whom she already knew, secure employment at the Taylors.

The account of Jane's acquaintance with Edward Ashton at the Taylors is not only in apparent conflict with the story remembered by Ralph Richard's wife, it is also contrary to the record of the Life of Jane Treharne written by Emma, Elizabeth, and George, wherein it is stated:

While the family was living in Council Bluffs, a Company of Saints came from Wales. Among this Company a young man named Edward Ashton came along and at one of the meetings of the Saints Jane Treharne was introduced to him.

I believe there is a true story which can consistently be made out of the three apparently inconsistent accounts. Edward and Jane may have met at Council Bluffs. But the meeting which was significant to both of them was the dramatic one on the plains, where they were put together in a common effort, and which was the beginning of their interest in one another. The later acquaintance at John Taylor's was perhaps a courting relationship resulting in the enduring companionship of a lifetime.

In the early spring of 1853, Edward and an anonymous companion went to Boxelder looking for work. His account is as follows:

We had 50 cents when we left the city and that we spent for our lodging that night. Then we had to beg for our support and it became very hard to get along, for the people could not find us anything to do because of the snow what was on the ground and more was coming, so we had to beg our way back after going as far as Boxelder, which is now Brigham City. There was no house

*Life of Edward Ashton, as told to his children, Elizabeth, Emma, and George.

on the flat, just one tent owned by David Evans, where we stayed the one night. The next day was Sunday so we did not travel nor beg that day but stayed at Willow Creek and attended the meeting in the afternoon in the old log house.*

This area at Willow Creek is now known as Willard, where so many of the Welsh later settled, some later going to Malad, Idaho. There still exists (1975) at Willard some wonderful Welsh rock masonry constructed by these early emigrants.

When Edward returned to the City, he took employment on the Temple Grounds, assisting in the construction of the Temple. He was probably working there on April 6, 1853, when the four cornerstones were laid. This was a day-long celebration. There was a band playing, singing, and speeches at each corner of the foundation.

In July 1853, Chief Walkara, "The Hawk of the Mountains," visited the City. He and his gaudy braves camped on the Jordan River, very near Edward Ashton's tent. Edward must have seen him on that occasion.

Walkara was a baptized Elder of the Mormon Church and Brigham Young's Problem Indian. He was notorious for his horse stealing from Mexico to California, and had an ugly reputation for bloodletting, child stealing, and slave trading.

On July 2, 1893, he got riotously drunk, while trading horses with the California Emigrants across the river, and caused a commotion which left him in a war-like mood when he left the City a few days later.⁸ If Edward saw Walkara, he was a rich Indian, possibly half Spanish, who wore clothing which was basically European, but covered with silver and all kinds of gaudy decorations.

The Walkara incident is mentioned because of the importance which Walkara came to play in the life of Edward Ashton.

Notes to Chapter Seventeen

¹B. Spencer Young, Jr., a great, great grandson of Brigham Young, related that one of the heirlooms possessed by their family was a pair of dress boots which at one time were owned and worn by Brigham Young. They were size 6-1/2 and were worn by his young brother Richard when he was a young boy, becoming too small for him when he reached his teens.

²T.H. Lewis, in his article "The First Welsh Emigration, 1849" wrote:

**Life of Edward Ashton*

When these Welshmen 'reached' the 'valley' they were surprised to find that the roads of Salt Lake City were 130 feet wide, and that there were trees between the carriage way and the pedestrian way (these could not have been very large). Alongside each road there was running water which could be turned on or off by the inhabitants. According to William Morgans the daily wage of an ordinary laborer was three shillings and sixpence. No wonder his comment was: 'Isn't this a better place for workmen than Merthyr Tydfil is?'

The foregoing related to the Welsh who arrived in 1852.

³The reference to Brigham Young's remarks comes from information from other wagon trains which arrived in the City in 1852, notably Captain Tidwell's Company.

⁴The writer wonders if the area on the west side of the Jordan River, which is referred to as *Buena Vista*, is the area where the Welsh resided and, if so, did it take its name from the good ship *Buena Vista* which brought the first Welsh to America? Perhaps someone who reads this account will have some information on that matter.

⁵The residents of Wales, in Sanpete County, pride themselves on many things, not the least of which is their claim that they have furnished more college graduates from their descendants than any other community in the State on a per capita basis.

⁶In *Tales of a Triumphant People*, compiled and published by Daughters of Utah Pioneers of Salt Lake County Company, the following is written:

On February 22, 1849, the Fifteenth Ward was organized with Abraham O. Smoot as bishop. He presided until 1851 when he was succeeded by Nathaniel V. Jones.

The ward was bounded on the north by South Temple, on the east by Second West, on the south by Third South, and on the west by the Jordan River. It was larger than the usual ward, containing twenty-seven ten acre blocks, but some of them were in the lowlands and were flooded by the river in certain seasons. In 1880 the population of the ward was 1,253.

The first meeting-house and school-house was a log cabin which was replaced in 1852 by an adobe, twenty by thirty feet, at First South between Third and Fourth West . . .

Andrew Jensen lists the following original settlers and owners of lots in the ward: Nathaniel V. Jones, Rodney Badger, Thurston Simpson, Thomas Judd, Thomas Forsyth, Shurl Olsen, Gideon D. Wood, David Peters, Peter Robinson, Andrew Cunningham, Andrew Jackson, William Empey, Robert T. Burton, John Wood, William Jones, James Hawkins, Homer Duncan, John C. Armstrong, John Leatham, Edwin T. Bird, John Webb, John Reynolds, Charles D. Barnum, Henry Heath, Daniel Bull, Benjamin T. Mitchell, William Long, Andrew Wood, David Phillips, James Ure, Richard Warburton, David Ames, Daniel Leah, Rice Jones, John Thomas, W.M. Allred, Chapman Duncan, Joseph Pollard, Elias Morris, and Joseph R. Morgan.

⁷The early emigrants to Cedar City were sent for the purpose of making iron. There was coal in the Canyon to the east, which was called Coal Creek, the original name of Cedar City, and there was iron ore in abundance. It is this iron ore which now

furnishes the material for the Geneva Steel Works. This experiment was a failure, but the Pioneers remained to form one of the most progressive settlements in the territory.

⁸Paul Bailey has written an excellent book entitled, *Walkara, 'Hawk of the Mountains.'* In it he describes Walkara's visit to Salt Lake City in 1853. The writer has examined pictures of Walkara and has read some about his exploits in California and Mexico. He did not resemble a typical Indian physically, or in energy and enterprise. It would be easy to believe that his father was one of the early trappers who visited the area in the early Ninetenth Century, or even more probably one of the early Spaniards who came into the Indian Country from the south. His chief complaint through the years with Brigham Young was that Brigham refused to tender him the courtesy of a white squaw when the two met. Walkara always felt that he should have as many wives as Brigham, and without restriction as to race. He was so enamoured with this idea that women in Southern Utah were afraid to be out alone at night when Walkara was in the vicinity.

Chapter Eighteen

The Walkara War (1853)

Sixteen days after "The Hawk" left the City, an incident occurred which touched off an Indian war, which involved Edward Ashton for a good part of July and August and provided him with sufficient cash for his subsequent marriage. This event also created a military situation which greatly influenced and directed the course of his life. The incident which started the war was trivial, but it provided all the excuse Walkara needed. It occurred while Walkara, with his braves and their families, were camped on Spring Creek, about one mile above the present city of Springville.

James Ivie, one of the settlers, had a cabin at that place where he was living with his wife and child. on July 17th, an Indian and a squaw from Walkara's Camp came to Ivie's cabin to trade three trout for some flour. Ivie's wife gave the squaw three cups of flour. When she did so, two Indians came into the cabin. One seemed to be the squaw's husband. This Indian became so enraged when he saw the three small cups of flour that he knocked the squaw to the floor and started to beat her. At this moment, Ivie returned to the cabin. A fight ensued and Ivie, who had a reputation for being very tough, beat the two Indians into unconsciousness. One of the Indians died. A third Indian, who had remained outside, hastened off to inflame Walkara. The war was on.

By this time, or perhaps even earlier on the plains, Edward Ashton had become a member of the Nauvoo Legion, which, in 1853, was also called the Utah Militia. It was a sort of Minute Man organization which was set up to enforce law and order in the Territory. ¹ In any war with the Indians, this organization was to be mobilized, not as The Nauvoo Legion, but as the Utah Militia. In that way, significantly, its members became eligible for federal pay. So far as I have been able to determine, the Walkara War prompted the first "call up" of this group.

On July 21, 1853, Edward was mustered into this service to assist the settlers in protecting their homes and property. At that time, Edward was a Private in a "Regiment

of Cavalry commanded by Colonel George A. Smith, which Regiment was employed in an expedition against the Utah Indians." Edward's immediate commanding officer was a Cavalry officer named Captain Thomas Callister, and his pay was \$2.00 per day and 50 cents for his horse.

When this group was assembled, they must have seemed a motley crew. Their uniforms, or clothing, consisted of an assortment of old country and new country outfits or costumes. The officers were uniformed. It is quite possible that there were a few more officers than necessary. The rate of pay allotted to an officer, as usual, was much higher than that allotted to privates. Brigham Young did not overlook this important aspect of the venture.²

George A. Smith, with the rank of colonel, was supported by the following officers: Colonel William H. Kimball, Colonel W.M. Andrews, Lieutenants Thomas Callister, H.M. Alexander, John Alger, Hosea Cushing, John L. Smith, and James C. Switzler. Some of these officers were not appointed until the expedition arrived at the first night's encampment.

The weapons were amazingly assorted. Some had rifles, some pistols, a few had muskets, and two or three apparently had no weapons at all. Two of the Militiamen had no ammunition for their weapons, and because their firearms were of an odd foreign make, there was no practical hope of getting any. Poorly equipped as they were, it turned out they had more fire power than was needed.

Before leaving the City they were assembled and given their final instructions. Colonel William H. Kimball, Heber C. Kimball's oldest son, read General Daniel H. Wells' written order. It provided for six objectives, as follows:

1. Suppress the Indians and preserve peace in the Southern Settlements south of Provo.
2. Ascertain the movement and whereabouts of the Indians south of Nephi.
3. Place Nephi in a state of defense and then proceed to Fillmore and thence to Parowan, Coal Creek (Cedar City), and New Harmony (Major John D. Lee's home).
4. Cause the settlers to 'Fort Up' in the larger centers.
5. Cause all surplus stock in the Southern Settlements to be brought into Salt Lake to be turned over to the Presiding Bishop.
6. Enlist friendly Indians as spies and workers in the settlements.*

They left Great Salt Lake City on the morning of the 24th of July. The first encampment was at "Ivy Creek, Utah Territory, Salt Lake Valley." At that point some of the command were promoted in rank. Thomas Callister was appointed Captain and H.M. Alexander, First Lieutenant. John L. Smith was made a Sargeant. In all there were thirty-five men, forty-seven horses, and the following supplies and equipment: Seven wagons and one carriage, 331-1/2 lbs. bread, 744 lbs. flour, 58 lbs. bacon, 91 lbs. cheese, 19-1/2 lbs. coffee, and 1-3/4 lbs. of tea.³

*General Order No. 1, Issued by General Daniel Wells, Military Archives, State Capitol.

They arrived at Provo on July 25th, where they met with Aron Johnson, who was in command of the Militia in that area. He assisted them in augmenting their supplies. From there they went to Summit Creek, near Payson, where they rendezvoused with Colonel George A. Smith and ten of his men. From there they took a line of march to Nephi, arriving at that city on the 27th day of July, at about 6:30 P.M.

At Nephi the people were gathered together into the Fort where their animals could be placed in a good corral. Colonel George A. Smith had brought with him General Order No. 2, which had been prepared by Brigham Young and signed by him and General Daniel H. Wells. When all the people of the Fort had been assembled and the troupes formed, Colonel Smith read to all present the order. It was as follows:

Head Quarters Nauvoo
Legion Adjt. Genl. Office
G.S.L. City, July 25, 1853

Gen. Orders No. 2.

I. Col. Geo. A. Smith is hereby assigned to the command of all the Military Districts of this Territory south of GSL County and is strictly enjoined and commanded to enforce Orders No. 1, of the 21st inst.

II. It is distinctly understood that all the people shall assemble into large and permanent forts and no man is at liberty to refuse to obey this order without being dealt with as an enemy.⁴

III. All surplus stock, that is not particularly needed for teams and milk, must be driven into this city and placed in the charge of the Presiding Bishop in this city until further orders.

IV. Col. Smith is fully authorized and required to carry out the instructions which have heretofore been universally given by the Governor and others who are authorities of this Territory in regard to defense, and all the people are now required to obey those instructions as Col. Smith shall direct.

V. Col. Geo. A. Smith's instructions and counsel will be those of the Executive of the Territory and he will be sustained by him in enforcing the orders which he has, or shall receive, and in doing all other necessary things which in his judgment he may think proper.

Signed Brigham Young, Governor, Ex Officio
Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and
Commander in Chief of Militia

Signed Daniel W. Wells, Lieut. Gen. Comdo.
Nauvoo Legion.*

That night the troopers learned that Colonel Connover from Provo had been attacked by the Indians at Clover Creek, which I believe is near Mona. During the night watch, one of the outer guards was slightly wounded by an Indian arrow.

*Gen. Orders No. 2, Daniel Wells, Military Archives, State Capitol.

Early the next morning they took up their march to Fillmore. Robert Burns of the unit was ordered to remain at Nephi with ten men, to assist the people in tearing down their buildings which were outside the Fort and, so far as practical, moving them into the Fort. Captain Whipple of the local Militia was ordered by Colonel Smith to take eighteen men and remove to Salt Lake City all surplus cattle and grain, in accordance with General Orders No. 2. At this place they gave friendly Indians some tobacco to take to Chief Walkara, along with the following letter from Brigham Young:

"Great Salt Lake City,
July 25, 1853

Captain Walker: I send you some tobacco for you to smoke in the mountains when you get lonesome. You are a fool for fighting your best friends, for we are the best friends, and the only friends that you have in the world. Everybody else would kill you if they could get a chance. If you get hungry send some friendly Indians down to the settlements and we will give you some beef, cattle and flour. If you are afraid of the tobacco which I send you, you can let some of your prisoners try it first, and then you will know that it is good. When you get good nurtured again I would like to see you. Don't you think you should be ashamed? You know I have always been your best friend?
Brigham Young.*

The day they left Nephi they "saw some Indian signs, ponies, and moccasin tracks crossing the road to the west." About 4:00 P.M. they crossed the Sevier River into Lake Valley where they camped for the night "in an area that was so dangerous and critical that almost the entire unit was placed on guard." Some, who were older and more experienced, served as outside guards and "the younger boys were placed on the inside as horse guards."^{*}

During the campaign, they had regular morning and evening prayers. The unit now consisted of 69 men, together with the seven wagons and one carriage. Colonel Smith, who weighed almost two hundred and fifty pounds, used the carriage. Most of the rest were mounted. The remainder rode in the wagons.

When the unit took up a line of march the next day, it proceeded in an alert and guarded manner. A guard of several men, under an officer, trailed the rear of the column. The balance of the Company marched in front. They reached the outskirts of Salt Creek (Fillmore) the next day. Colonel Kimball took a detail of ten men and approached the City quietly and quickly to observe if the people were alert. This detail took a circuitous route and rode into the Fort from the southeast and were fairly in possession of the Fort before they were detected. The men of the City were outside the Fort. Many of the women were out tending their gardens. The cattle and horses were scattered "all over the prairie."

^{*}Military Archives, State Capitol.

^{*}William H. Kimball Letters, Military Records, State Capitol.

When the rest of the Company arrived, the people were assembled and strongly censured by the officers. General Orders No. 2 was read, and the people told in no uncertain terms that they were to "fort up" and send their surplus stock to the Presiding Bishop. For the most part the people took the orders and instructions without complaint.

There were several friendly Indians at the Fort who professed much friendship for the Mormons. They were "Pauvaunts." However, they were not trusted. A plug of tobacco was left with D.B. Huntington to send to Walkara, if he learned of his whereabouts.

Before they left Fillmore a detail of 20 local Militiamen was selected from the Fort to take the surplus cattle and grain to the Presiding Bishop's office in Salt Lake City. Fourteen men were left to assist in strengthening the Fort and in moving the torn down buildings.

They arrived at Corn Creek, or Parowan, on the 30th day of July. Parowan in 1853 was very pleasant and orderly. All the houses were made of a pink adobe, which, in the evening light, glowed like soft, warm lights. The people there were far removed from the influence of Salt Lake City and there was a much more independent spirit amongst them than in the settlements to the north. They did not fear the Indians, and, in fact, had many working for them in their homes and on their farms. Some of the inhabitants had purchased Indian children. These children lived in the homes of the inhabitants and were treated in most respects as members of the family. They were not treated as slaves.

From Parowan the unit moved to Coal Creek (Cedar City) and as far south as New Harmony where Major John D. Lee, one of the Militia officers, was located. Lee knew more about the Indians than anyone they met; in fact, he was either then, or very soon thereafter, the Federal Indian Representative, or, as it was then called, Indian Farmer. Lee was not worried about the Indians. It was known that Walkara was his friend, and that Lee sometimes took care of Walkara's stock. Nevertheless, Lee willingly turned over his surplus grain and cattle and agreed to comply with the order. Some of Walkara's cattle, which had been in Lee's custody, could not be found! The other people in the area of Cedar City eventually and grudgingly turned over to Colonel George A. Smith 600 head of cattle, with instructions to convert them into arms and ammunition, and to place the rest to their credit in the tithing herd.

At Coal Creek, Edward and his friends saw the new iron works, the iron and coal mines, and the coking pits. Some of the members of the unit went with Colonel Kimball and a detachment of men to lay out a feasible defense for the coal miners. Many of these miners were from Cornwall, England, and were engaged in extracting coal from the Canyon east of the City. Brigham Young intended that the mines stay open at all cost.

At Coal Creek the expedition ran into a group of "Saints" who were quite independent and rebellious. At Paragonah and Parowan the people had cheerfully accepted General Orders No. 2 and had assisted in tearing down their own buildings outside the Parowan Fort and moving them inside the walls. But at Coal Creek it was a different matter.

On August 8th, when the citizens of the city started dividing their stock, several of the residents rebelled and threatened to shoot stock and men before they would permit their animals to be moved to Salt Lake City. Colonel Smith was hastily summoned. He placed twelve of the citizens under arrest and later charged five of the leaders with mutiny. These five were taken a few days later to the Fort where they were tried by a

Court of Inquiry. One of the citizens confronted Colonel Smith with these remarks: "You have stolen our goods, what have we more? I would sooner fence it to the Indians or have it rot on the plains than have it taken away from my own corral."^{*}

The five who were charged with mutiny were found guilty, excommunicated, and placed in irons (one of the few iron products manufactured at Cedar). Later, they were transported back to Great Salt Lake City as manacled prisoners. When the expedition returned toward the City, it had in its possession the five prisoners, and over one thousand head of cattle.^{*}

When they reached Fillmore, Edward Ashton qualified for his pay with C.W. Cummins, Paymaster of the Nauvoo Legion. At that point, he and most of his fellow soldiers were relieved of their responsibility and permitted to return to their homes. Edward arrived in Salt Lake City the latter part of August 1853.

I cannot leave this episode in Edward Ashton's life without some speculation and comment. What did Edward think of this high-handed method of dealing with the people in the settlements? Did it bother his sense of justice and propriety that a United States soldiery was engaged in collecting surplus grain, teams, and cattle to place in the custody of the Presiding Bishop, where they would be commingled with tithing property? Did it concern him that they were engaged in herding church property, i.e., tithing in the form of cattle?

Another query which would have occurred to any curious man: Where did John D. Lee get large amounts of cattle which were surplus to him, especially those belonging to Walkara who could not be found?

John D. Lee wrote the following in his diary on Wednesday, 11 December 1850: "Started for Iron County with 2 wagons, 4 yoke of cattle, and 3 yoke of cows and heifers, also one carriage and 2 horses . . ."^{***} Certainly, John D. Lee did not get them in the Santa Fe Country or in California, for he kept a very careful diary in which he recorded his financial dealings, and no such transactions are mentioned. New Harmony was conveniently located near the trail of the California emigrants, who lost so many cattle in the 1850's that they finally made a new route over the Humbolt rather than take the southern route. I have my own ideas about the source of John D. Lee's cattle, and why Walkara and Lee were on such congenial terms.

The early Mormons were, generally speaking, a very orderly and law abiding people. Their conduct, as compared with the vigilante law enforcement of the early settlers in California, was commendable. But the law which the Mormons observed in early territorial days was theocratic law. Its enforcement was sometimes not constitutional. Certainly, the conduct of Colonel George A. Smith in confiscating cattle at Cedar City and charging those who resisted with mutiny was unauthorized by any federal law. The trial by Court of Inquiry had even less sanction.

The early leaders during this difficult period were dictatorial and sometimes high-handed. On occasions they showed very little understanding of, or regard for guarantees provided by the United States Constitution, which they so often extolled when seeking its protection of their rights.

^{*}Letter of George A. Smith to General Wells, Military Records, State Archives, State Capitol.

^{***}John D. Lee Diaries, Brigham Young University.

Some writers have excused the early Mormon inhabitants of Utah for their failure to adhere strictly to constitutional law on the grounds that Utah was a territory and that therefore constitutional law was not applicable. The argument is invalid and in any event spurious because the original State of Deseret, created in 1850, adapted the Constitution of the United States in the original laws, and incorporated almost all its provisions in the original State Constitution.

The Walkara War marks the beginning of a very interesting period in Edward Ashton's life. From this point on, until the disbanding of the Nauvoo Legion in 1871, Edward's life was greatly influenced by his military activities. He was placed in an environment where, because of his loyalty and natural intelligence, he became referred to as "one of those trusted by Brother Brigham."⁵ Much of what he did is not known.

I am not suggesting that there were dark and improper dealings. Edward Ashton's character and reputation refutes any such suggestion. I am pointing out that there were two governments in Utah. One was the Federal Territorial Government, the other was the unofficial yet very real State of Deseret. The Territorial Government functioned de jure with sovereignty. The unauthorized State of Deseret functioned de facto without sovereignty. Both were governing at the same time, and with the same Governor!

While the State of Deseret was not recognized by the United States Government, the people in the Territory recognized it, and regularly held elections supporting its officers. Failure to understand this is to miss the most important nexus of all Utah temporal history.

An understanding of this peculiar and interesting governmental duality requires an examination of early pre-Territorial Mormon military history, beginning with Zion's Camp. In a revelation given in February 1834, at Kirtland, Ohio, Joseph Smith proclaimed the will of the Lord as follows:

Behold, I say unto you, the redemption of Zion must needs come to power; therefore, I will raise up unto my people a man, who shall lead them like as Moses led the children of Israel, and of the seed of Abraham, and ye must needs be let out of bondage by power and with a stretched out arm.*

Joseph Smith thereupon commissioned Parley P. Pratt and Lyman Wight to gather an army of five hundred men. Under Joseph Smith's command, they were "to go up . . . unto the land of Zion . . . and organize my kingdom . . ." In May of that year, Zion's Camp was organized and an expedition of about two hundred men engaged in a bizarre battle with their Ohio enemies in which Captain Fear Not was killed.**

This abortive effort had long-range significance. It was the forerunner of the development of "The Kingdom of God," which is generally considered by its modern members as synonymous with the Mormon Church. It was not so considered in Kirtland, Ohio, in Jackson County, Missouri, in Nauvoo, Illinois, in Winter Quarters, Iowa, or in the early days in the Utah Territory. It should be stressed that "The Kingdom of God" was a temporal kingdom—in reality, a government. It was, at least in theory,

**Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 103-15-17.

***Doctrine and Covenants*, Sec. 103-30-34.

and frequently in practice, separate and apart from the Church, or more precisely, the Priesthood, which administered in ecclesiastical affairs.

In the winter of 1839-1840, the Mormon people moved to the Mississippi River where they settled what was to become the City of Nauvoo. Stephen A. Douglas, who was then a friend of Joseph Smith, helped obtain for the City a home rule charter. Abraham Lincoln was a member of the legislature which approved the charter. By its terms, Nauvoo became a City-State, authorized to enact any law, subject only to federal and state constitutional limitations. There "The Kingdom of God," as a temporal government, was organized with very real sovereignty over the people. It had its own courts and its own army, the Nauvoo Legion. In 1842, the *Millennial Star* published in Liverpool, England, noted that the time would come when this army would be strong enough "to rescue the American Republic from the brink of ruin."[†] Joseph Smith bestowed upon himself the rank of Lieutenant General.

By 1844, opposition in Missouri to this temporal kingdom, not to the Church, became so strong that it finally resulted in martyrdom and expulsion. Martyrdom and expulsion ended neither the concept, or the reality of this temporal kingdom. It simply drove it underground.

Thus, in 1844, there was in existence the Council of Fifty, which became in effect, after expulsion, a continuation of the Nauvoo Government secretly administered by the Council. Now for the first time there came into existence a temporal government—without sovereignty, but one which by reason of necessity governed the temporal affairs of the people. Many of the Council members were holders of the Priesthood which presided in ecclesiastical affairs, but only influenced temporal matters. Some, like Daniel H. Wells, who became a member about 1847, were not even members of the Church when they were first appointed. The original members of the Council of Fifty, spelled backwards, YTFIF, for reasons of secrecy were:

*Babbitt, Almon
 *Badlam, Alexander
 Benson, Ezra Taft
 *Bent, Samuel
 *Bernhisel, John M.
 *Brown, Uriah
 **Bullock, Thomas
 Burton, Robert T.
 *Cahoon, Reynolds
 Cannon, Angus M.
 Cannon, George Q.
 **Carrington, Albert
 *Clayton, William

Cluff, W.W.
 *Coolidge, Joseph W.
 *Cutler, Alpheus
 Eldredge, Horace
 *Emmett, James
 *Fielding, Amos
 Fielding, John
 *Fullmer, John S.
 **Grant, George D.
 **Grant, Jedediah M.
 *Haws, Peter
 Heywood, Joseph L.
 *Hollister, D.S.

[†] *Millennial Star*, Vol. III (1842), page 69.

*Members in 1844 under Joseph Smith—Sources *History of the Church*, VI. 260-261, 263, 267, 341.

**Members added during Exodus 1846-1847, *Diaries of John D. Lee*, pp. 97, 103, 110, 163, Clayton, pp. 202-203.

Remainder added between 1847-1880—Minutes, Council of Fifty, 1880.

Clinton, Jeter
 *Hunter, Edward, Jr.
 *Hyde, Orson
 *James, Samuel
 Jennings, William
 *Johnson, Benjamin F.
 Kimball, Charles S.
 Kimball, David P.
 *Kimball, Heber C.
 Kimball, H.P.
 **Lee, John D.
 **Lewis, P.B.
 Little, Feramorz
 Lott, Cornelius P.
 *Lyman, Francis M.
 *Marks, William
 *Miller, George
 Morley, Isaac
 Nuttall, L. John
 **Pack, John
 *Page, John E.
 *Parker, John D.
 *Phelps, William W.
 *Smith, Joseph
 Smith, Joseph F.
 Smith, Silas S.
 *Smith, William
 Smith, William R.
 Smoot, Abraham O.
 *Snow, Erastus
 Snow, Lorenzo
 Snow, Willard
 *Spencer, Daniel H.
 *Spencer, Orson
 Stout, Hosea
 Taylor, George J.
 *Taylor, John
 Taylor, William W.

Hooper, William H.
 *Pratt, Orson
 *Pratt, Parley P.
 Pratt, Parley P., Jr.
 Preston, William B.
 *Rich, Charles C.
 Rich, Joseph C.
 Richards, Franklin D.
 Richards, Franklin S.
 Richards, H.J.
 *Richards, Levi
 *Richards, Willard
 *Rockwell, Orin Porter
 **Rockwood, Albert P.
 **Roundy, Shadrach
 *Scott, John
 Sharp, John
 **Shumway, Charles
 Smith, Elias
 *Smith, George A.
 *Smith, Hyrum
 *Smith John
 *Smith, John Henry
 Thatcher, Moses
 **Turley, Theodore
 Wells, Daniel Hanmer
 Wells, Junius F.
 *Whasson, Lorenzo D.
 *Whitney, Newel K.
 *Wight, Lyman
 *Woodruff, Wilford
 *Woodworth, Lucien
 *Young, Brigham
 Young, Brigham, Jr.
 Young, John W.
 *Young, Joseph
 **Young, Phineas H.*

*Members in 1844 under Joseph Smith—Sources *History of the Church*, VI. 260-261, 263, 267,341.

**Members added during Exodus 1846-1847, *Diaries of John D. Lee*, pp. 97,103,110,163, Clayton, pp.202-203.

Remainder added between 1847-1880—Minutes, Council of Fifty, 1880.

*Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire*, page 251.

It is apparent that while the list contained most of the General Authorities of the Priesthood, it also contained the names of those who functioned officially only in temporal matters.

When the original State of Deseret was organized, all of the officers were members of the sub-rosa Council of Fifty. In fact, the Council of Fifty organized the State of Deseret. These original officers, who were all Fifties, were:

Governor:	Brigham Young
Secretary of State:	Willard Richards
State Treasurer:	Newel K. Whitney
Justices of the	Heber C. Kimball,
Supreme Court:	Chief Justice
	John Taylor,
	Assistant Justice
	N.K. Whitney,
	Assistant Justice
	Daniel H. Wells
	Horace C. Eldredge
	Albert Carrington
	Joseph L. Heywood
	Jedediah M. Grant
	Heber C. Kimball
	Thomas Bullock*

Attorney General:
 Marshal:
 Assessor and Collector:
 Surveyor of Highways:
 Speaker of House:
 Speaker of Senate:
 Clerk of General Assembly:

How does a government without sovereignty function? How does it maintain order? Certainly it cannot legally punish by placing people in jail; in fact, it cannot have a jail. Possibly it can maintain order with its own members if there are not too many non-members, by ostracization—excommunication, with all the sanctions that measure imposed in the early period of the Territory. But, how to maintain order with non-members? The only possible way was to have some sort of regulatory and disciplinary force.

Greater Salt Lake City, which was first organized by the State of Deseret and later apparently approved by the Territorial Government, had a police force which had legal power to act in enforcing Municipal Ordinances. The State of Deseret had no such authority. I am convinced that from the ranks of the Nauvoo Legion were drawn those trusted individuals who acted in this capacity. Was Edward Ashton one of these? I leave the question unanswered, but suggest that an examination of Edward's activities as an active member, first as a Private and later a Captain in the "Legion-Militia" under the command of Colonel William H. Kimball, Captain Thomas Callister, Major Andrew Cunningham, and, finally, Major General Robert T. Burton, and his personal employment by and close relationship with President John Taylor, William Jennings, John R. Winder, and, finally, George Q. Cannon, is more than coincidental. All but Winder were members of the Council of Fifty. Winder, who was a ranking military officer, was so closely associated that it is easy to believe that he too was a member. Burton was often accused of being the "Danite Captain" and was later the Bishop of Edward's Ward

**Laws and Ordinances of the State of Deseret* (1851)—Officers listed on front page.

where Edward became the highest ranking military militia officer other than Major Cunningham and Colonel Burton. Major Cunningham later became Chief of Police and Colonel Burton became County Sheriff, director of Internal Revenue, and later the Commanding Officer whose army broke up the Morrisite Community in the mouth of Weber Canyon. (See Chapter 23). The Cavalry for the Legion-Militia was kept "over the river" in the Fifteenth Ward.

If there was an unofficial police force, Edward knew about it. If it functioned through the Nauvoo Legion he probably participated. As one "trusted by Brother Brigham," he kept confidential the nature of any activities of which he knew. The existence of such a force if, in fact, it did exist—should surprise no one. There are many instances in history where a self-governing group of people is suddenly transplanted in an area where it is subject to government by others. This happened to the Mormon people when they left Nauvoo, and later Winter Quarters, to settle the Great Salt Lake Valley. They expected to govern themselves. The same sort of thing happened to the large numbers of highly civilized Chinese who came into the Western United States during the building of the railroads. Because of local prejudices they were forced to live in China towns, where, without sovereignty they governed themselves through their Tongs, while still being subject to Federal and State laws. They even had their own jails. I am sure the early Pioneers did the same sort of thing. There probably would have been very little criticism had this enforcement not been applied to some of the very few non-Mormons who lived in the Territory. Understandably, they did not approve.

Notes to Chapter Eighteen

¹The State of Deseret enacted a Constitutional provision which made every able man in the Territory subject to military service. These military units were sometimes referred to as the militia, and at other times as the Nauvoo Legion. Daniel Wells was the Commanding General of the Legion and Brigham Young the Commander of the Militia. So as far as I have been able to determine, they were otherwise one and the same. The Constitutional provision was as follows:

The militia of this state shall be composed of all able-bodied white male citizens, between the ages of eighteen, except such as are, or may hereafter be, exempt, by the laws of the United States, or of this State; and shall be armed, equipped and trained, as the General Assembly may provide.

All Commissioned officers of the militia (staff officers excepted) shall be elected by the persons liable to perform military duty; and all commissioned officers shall be commissioned by the Governor."

In 1851, the Laws and Ordinances of the State of Deseret included an ordinance in relation to the Militia of the State of Deseret. It divided the State into districts and set up regiments, battalions, and companies, and provided for court martial jurisdiction. These laws, compiled in 1851, are in a rare volume which is a collector's item.

Edward was a Captain of Ten while crossing the plains. This followed the organizational pattern of 10's, 20's, and 50's of the Legion. Was Edward a member of the Legion then? I don't know.

²Brigham Young, as Territorial Governor, had authority to call up the Militia for special duty. This provided for special federal pay. It is probable that the regular Militia officers and men also received pay from the Quarter Master for special drills and duty, much like our present National Guard.

³It will be noted that at this time there was no general teaching against the use of tea or coffee. This came later.

⁴I have on several occasions noted the expression "shall be dealt with as an enemy." It seems to have held more threat than the statement "shall be dealt with according to law."

On many occasions, I asked the former Assistant Church Historian, Anthony Lund, if there was any information in the Church records regarding Edward Ashton other than that generally known. He always said, "Clifford, your grandfather was one of those trusted by Brother Brigham." The identical words were stated to me by William Treharne's daughter-in-law, Ann Hughes, who lived to a very old age. Maybe this only means what is apparent. I don't think so. The phrase was often used to mean more than the obvious. Perhaps it is the lawyer in me, but trust means a trustor and a trustee—with and obligation both ways. In Utah history this was often true.

Chapter Nineteen

Marriage and Early Home Life 1854

When Edward Ashton returned to Salt Lake City in August of 1853, he had with him sufficient funds, by reason of his Militia pay, to finance his proposed marriage with Jane Treharne. William Lewis performed the ceremony on the 6th day of February, 1854. Edward was 33 on June 26th.

Jane had everything planned. Arrangements had been made with her sister Sarah, who had married Owen Roberts, for temporary living quarters. This consisted of one room. It was located in the Roberts' home, which was at 645 West First South, in the old Fifteenth Ward. Living conditions must have been cramped, and the furniture primitive, but more than adequate for the humble Ashton needs.

Furniture, which was a luxury item in 1854, was generally home made, and in the case of the Ashtons, very simple and even crude. It consisted of a small cook stove, a large box for a table, and two smaller boxes for chairs. The bed had four timbers nailed in between the ends. From these pegs they stretched a small rope from side to side. Another rope was stretched between the pegs from head to foot, intersecting with the ropes which had been stretched crosswise. This formed a webbing of 8 inch squares. On this rope foundation a ticking filled with corn shucks was laid. The bed clothes were placed on top. The corn shucks made a comfortable bed when fresh.*

Edward worked during this period for John Taylor, a member of the Council of Fifty, high in the ecclesiastical order. He apparently performed in the same manner he had for Ellis several years before in Wales. He also made shoes for the Taylor household. This alone could have been a full time job.

*Taken from the *Life of Edward Ashton*, as written by his children, Elizabeth, Emma, and George.

The Territory in 1854 was seven years old. Already most of the streams in The Great Basin area had been put to useful work. The expansion of the Mormon Empire had reached not only the areas of the present State of Utah, but had extended eastwardly to the Continental Divide, southerly to the Mexican Border, westerly to the Sierra Nevadas, including a generous part of Southern California, and northerly far enough to include a small part of Oregon. This proposed State of Deseret in 1850 embraced "all of the wealth of Utah, the rich coal fields of Wyoming, the heavily mineralized regions of Colorado, the silver lodes of Nevada, all of Arizona, Southern California to the Pacific Ocean, including the necessary seaport of San Diego, and the future City of Los Angeles . . . while the majestic Colorado River ran its entire mighty course completely within the walls of Deseret."* The entire area contained an estimated 490,000 square miles.

The hoped-for State of Deseret, however, was not to be, except in an unofficial sense. In 1850, the United States Government, ignoring Deseret's bid for Statehood, organized the Territory of Utah. Brigham Young, who was the Governor of Deseret, was made the first Territorial Governor. Fillmore became the first "state" capitol, and the county in which it was located was named Millard. This, of course, was in honor of President Millard Fillmore, who had appointed Brigham Young Governor. Note that Brigham Young was still the Governor of the State of Deseret.

Even this Territory exceeded in size the present State of Texas. It extended from the 37th parallel on the south to the 42nd parallel on the north, and from the Continental Divide on the east to the Sierra Nevadas on the west. Coming events would cause an even greater decrease in the Territory's size.

In 1847, there were approximately 1691 people in the Territory. In 1848 - 5,000; 1849 - 10,000; and in 1850 (according to U.S. Census) - 11,354, not including Indians, but including 24 free colored persons. By 1854, the population had probably increased to approximately 25,000 people. Almost all of these were Mormon, so that Edward Ashton and his new wife were living in a vast all Mormon world, almost entirely removed from outside influence. Their leader was Brigham Young. Their belief was in God. Their problem consisted basically of providing themselves with food, clothing, and shelter. Their other needs were easily available. The society to which they belonged was uncomplicated and beautiful in its simplicity. Economically, all were reduced to equality. Social climbing in 1854 would have appeared ridiculous. If there was a social scale it was ecclesiastical and military in nature.

When Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe arrived in the Territory in August 1854, Brigham Young received his first political challenge as Territorial Governor of the Territory and de facto Governor of the State of Deseret. Steptoe had in his command 175 soldiers and 150 civilian employees. Ostensibly, he was bound for California. In fact, he was carrying secret orders from President Pierce naming him the new Territorial Governor. Brigham, who had not been advised, had no intention of being replaced in either capacity. Throughout that summer and winter it was a "cat and mouse" game. Brigham had the complete support of the people. Colonel Steptoe soon was placed in a compromising position, and either because he knew he could not govern in place of Brigham or because he dared not, or because of personal reasons, finally abandoned

* Andrew L. Neff, *History of Utah, 1847 to 1869.*

any intentions he may have had and moved on to California. This left Brigham Young still in complete control.¹

During this period Edward Ashton and other members of the Utah Militia, otherwise known as the Nauvoo Legion, were kept alert and on parade so as to influence the imported soldiery and Colonel Steptoe of their power. At this time Utah had a standing army almost as large as that of the United States government. Certainly it had the most powerful military organization in the west. Sometime during this early period, Edward was elected a Lieutenant in this Militia organization. His unit was the Fifteenth Ward area, Ninth Military District. His friend, James Moyle, was elected as a Sergeant at about this same time.*

The presence of the "foreign soldiery" caused considerable trouble, so that when they left for California, Heber C. Kimball, writing to his son William, wrote: "It was getting to be a little hellish, but it is getting to be more heavenly now."

Notes to Chapter Nineteen

¹Colonel Steptoe made the mistake of practicing polygamy on a free and easy plan not in conformity with theological principle! Because of this he was trapped, according to anti-Mormon writers, by two of Brigham Young's "decoy women," or by his own indiscretion, according to Mormon writers, so that his personal embarrassment placed him in a position where discretion was the better part of valor. Whichever version is correct, Steptoe was established as a vulnerable character. Sources for this information are not quoted as the incident is too well known in history, and the two "schools of thought" are clearly enough defined that anyone can easily find all the information he desires.

*Military Records, Archives, State Capitol.

Chapter Twenty

Birth of First Son and the Utah Famine 1855-1856

Edward and Jane's first-born was Edward Treharne Ashton. He arrived July 14, 1855. The arrival was announced in the one room rented from Sarah and Owen Roberts.* Prior to this day, Edward and Jane had received their endowments in the old Council House. This was on April 1, 1854. On March 25, 1855, they were invited to President Brigham Young's office on South Temple. After giving them his congratulations and a few words of advice, he sealed them to each other.

The City at that time was divided into twenty Wards. The Fifteenth Ward, in 1855, might well have been called the Welsh Ward, for it was there that most of the Welsh people had settled. It consisted of twelve square blocks of 10 acres each. Cool water from City Creek ran along the streets into irrigation ditches, and onto the little farms. In a biography of James Henry Moyle, Gordon Hinckley writes the following:

The Fifteenth Ward was Mormonism in miniature. If one wishes to study the faith as it expressed itself in the daily lives of the people, one had but to put this section of the Church under the microscope. For here would be found various nationalities, mostly Welsh, gathered from over the earth. Here too would be found a large array of different talents and skills, a self-assurance that springs from an independent spirit, industry—with manufacturing centering in the home, self sufficiency in the social structure, a religious satura-

*Record of the Life of Edward Ashton, as written by his children, Elizabeth, Emma, and George.

tion of life such as was not to be found outside a Mormon community, and an intellectual ferment hardly to be expected in a city in the wilderness.

Shortly after Edward Treharne was born, his father and mother purchased a 5 by 20 rod lot on 6th West between 1st and 2nd South, and a 5 by 10 rod lot on the southeast corner of 6th West and 1st South. During 1855-1856, they erected a two room adobe house which was addressed 127 - 6th West. This was done with their own hands, assisted by those of their friends and neighbors. Edward and Jane, together with their infant son, moved into this house in the spring of 1856.

It was during the winter of 1855-1856 that the Pioneers experienced what is known as The Utah Famine. There was such a scarcity of the bare necessities that winter that Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball rationed their families to one-half pound of bread per day, per person.* The young Ashtons were probably not so fortunate. That winter they, like many others, drank bark tea in order to survive.

But hardship and hunger were no strangers to the Ashtons. These adversaries were probably accepted as old friends. Edward and Jane were adequate to the ordeal. Together they stood firm and happy. It is even possible that Jane, who had a reputation for quick wit, saw occasional humor in the situation. Edward probably endured in a more stubborn manner. By 1856, at least two good things had happened to Edward Ashton. One was his religion, which gave him anchor and sail, and the second was Jane Treharne.

There were several reasons for the famine. The summer of 1855 had been one of extreme drought. It was also a summer of locusts and crickets. George Albert Smith, Edward's Commanding Officer in the Walkara War, wrote:

The grasshoppers are still continuing their ravages throughout the Territory, young broods of them continually hatching out on every bench. Large crickets are also making their appearance, and the sound of the locusts is continually in the ears of the husbandmen.**

There was no mention of Seagulls in 1855.

Mormon religious philosophy adjusted to these tragic conditions. Bounteous years, as in Old Testament history, symbolized the beneficence of God. Lean years betokened dissatisfaction and disapproval. This suggested wrongdoing and disobedience to the teachings of the Gospel. Consequently, the prophets of doom and the zealots of reform were bound to have their day. This brought on the Reformation of 1856-1857.

*Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, page 114.

**Letter written by George A. Smith from Salt Lake City, June 20, 1855, addressed to the editor of *The Mormon*, New York.

Chapter Twenty-One

Birth of Second Son and the Reformation 1856-1857

In the fall of 1856, Jedediah Grant and Brigham Young launched a Reformation which was designed to call to repentance those who had become careless and sinful. Some of the members were imbibing excessively. There were two breweries and three distilleries in the Valley, which were producing beverages for Mormon and Gentile alike. The whisky which was consumed was called Valley Tan.

The Reformation got a little out of hand with some of the zealots, and there was some "pretty strong talk." Jedediah Grant, speaking in the Fourteenth Ward in October of 1856, said:

If there is a place on the earth where we should be faithful, it is in this City; or if there is a place where we should watch our children, it is here. Go to all the quorums in this City, and you will find some of their Presidents and Officers as corrupt as the devil. We have men that can beat the Gentiles in any mean tricks they are a mind to start up, but those who intend to serve God should do right.

I want to see the Bishops of the wards right, then I want to see the Teachers right; I want to see them all filled with the Holy Ghost, then they can do something. These people are asleep, and I will vouch that there are many of them who do not pray, or if they do, three such prayers would freeze hell over, as a Methodist Minister once said: 'I want you to pray with the Holy Ghost upon you.'

It is your duty to keep clean. Do you wash your bodies once in each week, when circumstances will permit? Do you keep your dwellings, outhouses,

and dooryards clean? The first work of the Reformation with some, should be to clean away the filth about the premises.*

Edward Ashton became a Teacher in the Fifteenth Ward at about this time, and it probably became his duty to go from family to family interviewing each member privately on the following questionnaire, which had been supplied by Jedediah Grant:¹

Have you committed murder, by shedding innocent blood, or consenting thereto??

Have you betrayed your brethren or sisters in anything?

Have you committed adultery, by having any connection with a woman that was not your wife, or a man that was not your husband?

Have you taken and made use of property not your own, without the consent of the owner?

Have you cut hay where you had no right to, or turned your animals into another person's grain or field, without his knowledge and consent?

Have you lied about or maliciously misrepresented any person or thing?

Have you borrowed anything that you have not returned, or paid for?

Have you borne false witness against your neighbor?

Have you taken the name of the Diety in vain?

Have you coveted anything not your own?

Have you been intoxicated with strong drink?

Have you found lost property and not returned it to the owner, or used all diligence to do so?

Have you branded an animal that you did not know to be your own?

Have you taken another's horse or mule from the range and rode it without the owner's consent?

Have you fulfilled your promise in paying your debt without prospect of paying?

Have you taken water to irrigate with, when it belonged to another person at the time you used it?

Do you pay your tithing promptly?

Do you teach your family the gospel of salvation?

Do you speak against your brethren, or against any principle taught us in the Bible, Book of Mormon, Book of Doctrine and Covenants, Revelations given

* Andrew Love Neff, *History of Utah*, page 551.

Birth of Son and the Reformation

through Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and the Presidency of the Church as now organized?

Do you wash your body and have your family do so, as often as health and cleanliness require and circumstances permit?

Do you labor six days and rest, or go to the house of worship on the seventh?

Do you and your family attend ward meetings?

Do you preside over your household as a servant of God, and is your family subject to you?

Have you labored diligently and earned faithfully the wages paid you by your employers?

Do you oppress the hireling in his wage?

Have you taken up and converted any stray animal to your own use, or in any manner appropriated one to your benefit, without accounting thereto to the proper authorities?

It will be noted that these questions made no inquiry about the drinking of tea or coffee or the use of tobacco. The use of all three was very common in the Territory in 1856. It was not until later, during the Civil War, that there was a real effort to curtail the use of these items, and even then it was for economic reasons.

The answers to the interrogatories were privately taken and reported to the Bishop. Many were re-baptized for the remission of the sins which they had confessed. Jane and Edward, like most everyone else in the Fifteenth Ward, received their second baptisms in 1857.

It was during this period of zealous reform that many of the devoted members of the young Church accepted the law of consecration. In April 1857, Edward Ashton and Jane consecrated all their property to the Church. It was pitifully little, but it was "their mite."^{*} They were never called upon to turn this property over. They were willing to do so, and were counted among those who were loyal. They probably were pleased to be so counted.

The Reformation was not designed to make converts. Its purpose was to reform the members. In the process it caused many to apostatize and "back slide." As a result, the membership in 1857 dropped off sharply, both in "Zion" and in the Missions in Europe.³ In December of 1856, Jedediah Grant died, some said from exposure and fatigue from re-baptizing many of the reformed members. Edward and Jane must have approved the Reformation for they named their second son after its leader. Jedediah William Ashton was born 27 December 1856.

In the fall of 1856, Sage Treharne Jones and her family, consisting of her husband and young Alma (who was born in Spanish Fork in 1853), together with Mary Treharne Leigh and her family, traveled from Cedar City to Salt Lake City. Their purpose was to

^{*}*Life of Edward Ashton*, as written by his children, George, Emma, and Elizabeth.

attend conference and visit their brother William Treharne and their sisters, Jane Ashton and Sarah Roberts.⁴

Near Fillmore, young Alma was kicked in the head by an oxen. At first it was not believed that the injury was serious. However, he died the next day. It was therefore a saddened group which met the Ashtons and Roberts that October in 1856.

Another tragedy of 1856, of broader import, was the handcart emigrations. These emigrants had started from Council Bluffs too late in the year. Most of the wretched little wagons were hurriedly made from green timber which shrank while crossing the dry plains so that the rims became loose, carrying the sand up and around the wheel so that it fell onto the axles, causing a grinding action which wore the axles away until they broke.

William Treharne, who was then eighteen years of age, was called at the October Conference in 1856 to assist in the rescue efforts. The rescue missions drew heavily on what little reserves were left. It is certain that the Ashtons, along with most everyone else, contributed flour, potatoes, clothing, blankets, and whatever they could spare, until there was barely enough left to sustain them through another hard winter.

Young William made two trips. When he left the second time, it was in the midst of a bitter blizzard. Before he returned his young eyes had witnessed the depressing and humiliating sight of humanity on the rack of starvation, privation, fear, and death. Poor William had already seen more than his share for one of tender years.

That winter the residents of the city heard heart-rending stories about the suffering of these companies, particularly the Martin Company. As soon as these stories were circulated, fervent prayers were offered up in the Tabernacle, in the Ward houses, and in family circles, begging the Almighty to avert the terrible storms. But God helps them who help themselves, and it was the stout hearts and strong arms of the brave young men who went from the City with good teams and supplies who saved some of the starving emigrants from death.

In the spring another Constitutional Convention was held and another proposed Constitution drafted. The preamble of the document stated that the last census showed that the Territory had a sufficient population to justify another Petition to Congress for Statehood. The proposed State, which, in reality, was functioning as an unofficial State, as before, was to be named Deseret, and was to comprise the entire Territory. It may be that Deseret would have become a *de jure* State at that time, had it not been for the events which led up to the Utah War which occurred a year later.⁵

Notes to Chapter Twenty-One

¹When I first learned that Edward Ashton was a teacher in the Fifteenth Ward, I assumed that it was in a Priesthood capacity. I am advised by Willard Ashton, grandson of Edward, that his grandfather was a teacher in the Ward School, and that this reference is to his duties in that capacity. He apparently acted in the same capacity in St. Louis. (See Chapter 14, Edward Ashton in St. Louis.) In the early days, there was very little separation of Church and State in educational matters. The people in the Fifteenth Ward were probably all Mormon and the only available school house was the ward house. It was a one room affair, with students ranging from the earliest ages to teenagers. The one room school house remained until Edward's son, Brigham Willard, many years later, became primarily responsible for the consolidated school system. In this one room school house in the early Utah Territory, the emphasis was on the four "R's," the first being religion, with practical applications. I am sure that much of the teaching was theological, and I am certain there was no confusion in anyone's mind on this point.

²This is an odd definition of murder. Murder at common law is not restricted to the killing of those who are innocent. It is the killing, with malice aforethought, of anyone. The fact that the victim was not innocent is immaterial.

³Emigration almost ceased in 1857, and there was practically none in 1858. One reason, of course, was the impending Utah War, but the Reformation also played a part. In fact, the Reformation played a part in causing the "Utah War." Another reason for the decline in emigration was the unpopularity of polygamy in the Mission Fields.

⁴Taken from "History of Sage Treharne Jones", written by one of her children. It is the only history of Sage Treharne, who was affectionately called "Aunt Satsy." It is on file at the Genealogy Library, Salt Lake City, and consists only of a few typewritten pages. Someone should write a more detailed history. In many ways she is the most interesting of all the Treharnes. She taught herself to read English as an adult woman. Her husband died leaving her a family of small children. She became President of the Cedar City Stake Relief Society, the first Postmistress in Utah, and was accepted by the men in their councils. It was at her home that the General Authorities stayed when they visited Cedar for conference. Her children were the leaders of Cedar City, her sons, Lehi and Uriah, becoming Stake Presidents before they were 30. They also became presidents of the bank. Sage had the mail contract for the Pony Express and her son Kumen at age 17 carried the mail from Cedar into the Nevada Mining towns. Lehi also carried the mail.

⁵The unfortunate events which caused the Mormon people to become unpopular in Washington prevented Utah from becoming a State until many years later (1896). Before this event was to happen, Utah Territory was carved up as follows: In 1861, the Territory was divided at 39 degrees west of Washington, D.C. The western portion became the Territory of Nevada. In 1862, the Territory of Idaho was created. In 1864,

Lincoln needed two more Republican votes for reconstruction purposes. His political friends therefore urged the citizens at Carson City (the Mormon settlement) to form a Constitution. They did, and in 1864, Nevada became a State. The border was pushed eastward to the existing State Line.

In 1869, the eastern portion of the Territory, now known as the State of Wyoming, was severed and became the Territory of Wyoming. This was ostensibly done to protect the mail routes, and was an insult to the Mormons, as they had ample military personnel for the purpose, and had guarded the route all through their early history. In 1890, Wyoming became a State.

In 1858, all of Colorado became a part of the Kansas Territory. Later, this area was loosely called the Jefferson Territory. Colorado became a State in 1876.

Chapter Twenty-Two

Events Leading to the Utah War

The Utah War not only had a great effect upon Edward Ashton and his family, it also had a lasting effect upon the entire Territory. The causes which led to the war are not entirely understood. Some, however, are apparent.

During their first ten years in the Great Basin, the Pioneers were isolated from the rest of the world. Their only contacts with "gentiles" came from the emigrant wagon trains bound for the gold fields. It was a thousand miles east and more than five hundred miles west, north, and south to the nearest outside community of any size. There was no telegraph or easy means of communication. The Pioneers had their own courts, their own schools, their own government, their own army, even an attempt at their own alphabet, and, most important, a unanimity of belief as to who was running things, i.e., Brigham Young.

When Brigham Young and his followers left Council Bluffs in 1847, they expected that they were leaving the United States and all supervision of "alien" authority. They intended to set up their own Kingdom—The Kingdom of God. However, when the United States acquired possession of the Great Basin as a result of the War with Mexico, and the ensuing Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), and the so called Gadsen Purchase, they again found themselves in United States Territory.

As pointed out earlier, they tried first to establish their own State of Deseret. When this officially failed, they became the Utah Territory. At first this caused little trouble, for President Fillmore appointed Brigham Young Governor of the Territory and the affairs of state were managed without difficulty, or at least without much dissent. Unfortunately, however, the federal government began inflicting upon the Pioneers mediocre and shabby "gentile carpetbaggers," who were appointed to operate the courts and administer local affairs. The judicial appointments caused the most trouble, because, at least in theory, the judiciary is independent of the executive power, which,

in Utah, was Brigham Young. The quarrel with the federal judges is understandable. Brigham Young had control of the executive branch. He was both Territorial Governor and Governor of the Ghost State of Deseret. He also controlled the Territorial Legislature.

He could not control the Federal Judiciary in 1851, without federal approval, so the Pioneers conducted their own census and based thereon elected a Territorial Legislature. Of the thirty-nine elected, at least twenty were members of the Council of Fifty. The judges appointed could not qualify under federal law because they were not lawyers. The Pioneers had few lawyers among their members at this time. The only official disliked more than these appointees were subsequent Federal Governors. This alone should point out the governmental conflict which existed. The Pioneers had no use for these appointees, and paid as little attention to them as possible. They looked to the Church and the State of Deseret for their leadership and government.

The only reason the Pioneers tolerated the federal government at all in the early period was because Brigham Young had been appointed by that government as Territorial Governor. It will be observed that later when Brigham Young was replaced as Federal Governor, his replacements were generally accepted even less than the federal judges.

An illustration of the enmity which existed between the Pioneers and the judicial appointees is shown in the following incident. In 1851, a year before Edward Ashton and Jane Treharne arrived in the Territory, Judge Brocchus, one of the non-Mormon federal judicial appointees, insulted members of the Church, particularly the women, while giving a speech in The Bowery. This was at the time that the members were discussing a proposal to send a block of Utah marble as Utah's contribution to the construction of the Washington Monument. Brigham, on that occasion, turned to Brocchus, and said:

Be ashamed, you illiterate ranter . . . standing there, white and choking now at the hornet's nest you have stirred up . . . you are a coward, and that is why you have come to praise men that are not, and why you praise old Zachary Taylor.*

In 1854, Judge W.W. Drummond, another federal judicial appointee, allegedly brought his mistress with him from the east and pretended to act as a judge with this woman sitting beside him on the bench. The Pioneers were told that he had deserted a wife and family in Illinois. When he pretended to lecture the Pioneers on the virtue of monogamy, as compared to polygamy, he was treading on important toes. He got this fighting, blistering, rejoinder from Heber C. Kimball:

He is the poor curse who has written the bigger part of those lies which have been printed in the States, and I curse him in the name of Israel's God, and by the Priesthood and authority of Jesus Christ, and that disease that is in him shall sap and dry up the fountain of life and eat him up. Some of you may

**Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 5, pp.97.

think he has not the disease I allude to; he is full of pox from the crown of his head to the point of its beginning. That is the curse of that man; it shall be so, and all Israel shall say, Amen.”*

It is not likely that this tirade made friends between the factions. In 1856, Judge Drummond, understandably, had all he could endure. He left his post and carried to the States a sorry tale of his experience in the Territory.

During this time, Brigham Young and the leaders were full of fight and indignation. Edward Ashton was undoubtedly present when Brigham Young gave the following speech in the old Tabernacle:

We have got a Territorial Government, and I am and will be governor, and no power can hinder it, until the Lord Almighty says, ‘Brigham, you need not be Governor any longer.’ If a governor comes here and infringes upon my individual rights and privileges, and upon those of my brethren, I will scourge such a man until he leaves.” (This undoubtedly referred to Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe.)*

Because the Pioneers were isolated from the rest of the world, and because communications were limited, especially during the hard winter of 1856-1857, the stories told by Brocchus, Drummond, and others were circulated at first without refutation. Reformers like Harriet Beecher Stowe made polygamy, along with slavery, the object of their reform. From this time on the Pioneers were in for difficulties. The new federal appointees who came into the Territory were bound to take up the reform. They received plenty of support in the east and in California.

This storm of protest was fuel to another fire which was smouldering and about to burst into flames. The Civil War was imminent in 1857. the new Secretary of War was John Buchanan Floyd. He was educated in South Carolina, and was a native of Virginia. General Winfield Scott, who was the highest ranking United States officer, was also a Southerner. Floyd probably knew that the Civil War was inevitable. Did he see in the Mormon problem a chance to get about one-half of the United States Army far out of the way? I suspect that he did. Would the firing on Fort Sumter have occurred when it did, at all, if Johnston’s Army, supplies, and ordinances had not been wasted in the Great Basin during the critical years of 1858, 1859, 1860, and 1861?

**Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 5, page 97.

Chapter Twenty-Three

The Utah War

On the 23rd of July, 1857, Edward Ashton, his wife, and his two young sons went to Brighton, in Big Cottonwood Canyon, to celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the Pioneer arrival in the Valley. Edward, as an officer in the Utah militia (Nauvoo Legion), received the following invitation:

Pic-Nic Party, at the Head Waters of Big Cottonwood (seal) Pres. Brigham Young respectfully invites Edward Ashton and family to attend a Pic-Nic Party at the Lake in Big Cottonwood Canyon on Friday, 24th of July. Regulations: You will be required to start so as to pass the first mill about four miles up the Canyon, before 12 o'clock on Thursday, the 23rd, as no person will be allowed to pass that point after 2 o'clock p.m. of that day . . .

All persons are forbidden to smoke cigars or pipes, or kindle fires, at any place in the Canyon, except on the camp grounds . . .

Bishops, will, before passing the first mill, furnish a full and complete list of all persons accompanying them from their respective wards, and hand the same to the guard at the gate.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, July 18, 1857.¹

There were 2,687 members of the Church in attendance. While the Pioneers were enjoying the celebration, Porter Rockwell, Abraham Smoot, and Judson Stoddard rode into the encampment. The lathered condition of their horses indicated that they brought important and probably bad news. When they dismounted, they went immediately into Brigham Young's tent. When they reappeared it was apparent that the

celebration was over. It was announced to all assembled that the hard riding horsemen had brought news that a Federal Army had been sent by Secretary of War John B. Floyd and General Winfield Scott, to put down the so-called Mormon Rebellion and to establish and maintain order. It was reported that this army of 2,500 men was rapidly approaching the Territory. Because of the severe winter which had been so disastrous to the handcart companies and which had delayed communications, the Pioneers were completely unaware of the Army's approach until this day.

One of the reasons for the hasty appearance of Rockwell, Smoot, and Stoddard (Rockwell and Smoot were Fifties), was because of their interest in the mail contract which Brigham and others had. This contract was cancelled, which gave them a personal reason for hastening to report.

The celebration continued, but it became more militant in its aspects than festive. Many were boasting that the entire United States Army and Government combined could not overthrow The Kingdom of God; that the Nauvoo Legion would put the entire Army to rout. It is interesting to note that at that decisive point in time it was not referred to as the Utah Militia. But even though the Pioneers were "carried away" by their own boasting and the excitement of the occasion, down deep in their hearts they were no doubt apprehensive.

At this celebration, as at others, one of the important aspects of the occasion was the parading of the Nauvoo Legion. The Pioneers took great pride in this organization. It formed a very important part of Frontier Mormonism. Its history has not been adequately considered by historians. It was feared by the Church's enemies as far west as California. Its existence was one of the reasons Utah did not sooner become a state, and why the Mormon people were not dispersed.

In August of that year, Brigham Young intimated that there might be a separation of the State of Deseret from the Federal Government. He said:

The time must come when there will be a separation between this kingdom and the kingdom of this world. Even in every point of view, the time must come when this kingdom must be free and independent of all other kingdoms.

Are you prepared to have the thread cut today . . . I shall take it as a witness that God desires to cut the thread between us and the world when an army undertakes to make their appearance in this Territory to chastise me or to destroy my life on the earth . . . We will wait a little while to see, but I shall take a hostile move by our enemies as an evidence that it is time for the thread to be cut.*

When the Pioneers returned to the City, they continued even though the clouds of war hovered in the air, with their normal and usual tasks and way of living. One of the projects in the Fifteenth Ward was the construction of a new meeting house. The old building was adobe. It had served well during the early years not only as a School and Church but also as a social center. It is probable that Edward Ashton and Jane Treharne

*Speech given by Brigham Young, Sunday, Sept. 1857, at the old Tabernacle.

had more pleasure in that humble old building than they experienced in all the previous years of their lives.

The larger ward house was designed to serve the needs of its predecessor; and, in addition, was to have storage facilities for grain storage took on an added meaning because of the famine of 1855-1856, and the approach of the United States Army. This building became known as The Granary.

Edward Ashton spent his spare time assisting in the construction of this building. All of the bricks and nails were hand made. The approaching Army had cut off practically all Mormon emigration from the east, so that the Fifteenth Ward Welshmen were even more isolated from all outside influence. That summer their joint efforts and a common danger welded them into one large family.

It was during this time that Jane Treharne Ashton's reputation as an Angel of Mercy and a friend of the Welsh grew and increased. If any Welshman needed a job, a spare bed, an extra meal, or help of any kind, she knew where it could be found. She and her husband even left small amounts of money, when they had a surplus, near their front door where needy neighbors could find it without the embarrassment of borrowing, and where it was returned, without the borrower or lender ever identifying each other in a face to face transaction.*

During the late summer and fall of 1857, the air was full of rumors and news of ominous events. In September, Captain Stewart Van Vliet, Assistant Quartermaster of the invading army, came into the City and met with Brigham Young and some of the leaders. He had been sent ahead to determine whether or not the people would accept the Army and sell it supplies, as well as provide it with a suitable site for an encampment. Everyone was anxious to hear what the reaction would be to this proposal; so when Brigham Young addressed the assembly on Sunday, September 13, 1857, Edward Ashton and Jane Treharne were no doubt present. On that occasion, with Captain Van Vliet in the audience, Brigham Young stated the following:

I have been in this Kingdom a good while—twenty five years and upwards, and I have been driven from place to place; my brethren have been driven, my sisters have been driven; we have been scattered and peeled, and every time without provocation on our part, only that we were united, obedient to the laws of the land, and striving to worship God. . . .

This people are free; they are not in bondage to any government on God's footstool. We have transgressed no law, and we have no occasion to do so, neither do we intend to; but as for any nation's coming to destroy this people, God Almighty being my Helper, they cannot come here.*

This was it! It was now apparent to those assembled that the Mormons would fight. Edward, for one, was undoubtedly willing. As a Welshman, it is doubtful that he had a strong feeling of loyalty to the United States Government. He came to The Great Basin to join the Kingdom of God. His loyalty was to that Kingdom, and to its leader. Brigham Young, not President James Buchanan.

**History of Edward Ashton*, as told by him to his children, George, Emma, and Lizzie.

**Brigham Young Discourses*, Sept. 13, 1857.

Immediately after the incident with Captain Van Vliet, another unexpected and tragic event occurred which had a great deal to do with subsequent events. This was the Mountain Meadow Massacre. Apparently, the party of emigrants who had passed through the City earlier that summer had stirred up the settlements so that the whole party, with the exception of about seventeen children, had been killed by the Indians and others. There were even ugly and growing rumors that the massacre had been a bit more "official."²

The growing clamour against the Mormons burst into a roar when the news of this event reached California and the east. An army was raised in California which threatened to converge from the south with Alexander's Army approaching from the east. Brigham Young, because of the excitement, instructed the Saints in San Bernardino and Carson City to sell their possessions and return to the City.

At this time, Colonel Alexander's United States Army was marching west to invade the City. In September and October he was moving toward Fort Bridger, which, along with Fort Supply, was owned by the Church. In order to prevent these two Forts from falling into the hands of the enemy, General Daniel Wells of the Nauvoo Legion, sent a few Legionnaires to destroy them with fire. One of the officers in charge of this destruction was Captain B.K. Bullock of Provo. Bullock and his men burned everything but the standing grain, which was still too green in the stem. This, of course, occurred before Alexander reached Ham's Fork.

When Alexander learned of the activities of Captain Bullock and the burning and plundering of eight supply wagons by about 800 Legionnaires, some under the Commands of Major Lot Smith and Major Porter Rockwell, he attempted a flanking movement toward Soda Springs along the Oregon Trail. His plan was to engage the Mormons from the north in the Bear Lake country. When this occurred, Colonel William Kimball, Colonel Thomas Callister, Major Robert T. Burton, Major Andrew Cunningham, and Captain John R. Winder, and their cavalry units of Legionnaires (all old friends of Edward) were sent to harass and scout the movements of Alexander's command. Edward Ashton, as usual, went along. In his later years he told his children many stories of scouting maneuvers as he and his Legionnaire friends lay concealed on mountain tops watching the movement of the enemy.

One of the favorite tricks of the Mormon Cavalry was to induce a chase through rough country. The Mormon horses (many from "over the River" in the Fifteenth Ward) accustomed to such country; and Mormon riders, trained to the horse; were too much for the Federal Cavalry. The Army horses more often than not would balk at the rough going, and not infrequently would unhorse their riders. The loose horses would follow the Mormons, who would thus gain a new recruit.* These activities, along with bad weather, forced the irresolute Colonel to retrace his steps in desperation toward Ham's Fork.

By October it appeared that the combined tactics of the details under the direction of Major Lot Smith and Major Porter Rockwell and the Commands under the direction of Kimball, Callister, Burton, and others, had caused the Federal Army to "bog down," so that it would not be able to enter the City until the next spring.

*Information from *Weeks Journal* at BYU Library.

An interesting sidelight—Major Lot Smith and Major Porter Rockwell, even though they were at the time engaged in joint operations, had a bitter dislike for each other. Perhaps it was old-fashioned jealousy. They vied with one another in daring and accomplishment. Lot Smith was fearless and both men were inventive. Porter Rockwell was the more mysterious and cautious of the two. He seemed to prefer his own lonely company, and appeared to be a confidant of Brigham Young. He had a careless and easy manner around the President, which indicated a world of confidence and trust between both men. They were entirely different however. Porter drank excessively and when he took a drink his toast as he drained the glass was "Wheat." His long, black hair and beard, together with his fierce eyes and quiet speech, made him seem dangerous, and indeed he was!

An interesting story is told of Lot Smith. When he was in California on a mission, he attended a bull fight. When the Toreador was demonstrating his bravery, Lot mocked him and dared him to ride the bull. The Toreador returned the dare and Lot successfully complied, to the chagrin of the Mexicans and the delight of the Americans. Lot Smith had the reputation of being the best horseman in the Territory. There are many interesting stories about Lot Smith.³

When Alexander retraced his steps toward Ham's Fork, Brigham Young and Daniel Wells thought they had the Army bedded down for the winter. They had not reckoned with that old Mormon hater Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston. When Johnston learned of the Army's predicament, he left Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, immediately, with reinforcements. Under forced march he met Alexander's despairing troops at Ham's Fork, November 2, 1857. The rejuvenated Army now forged on toward the ashes of Fort Bridger, thirty-five miles to the west. They started their desperate march on November the sixth. When Brigham Young and General Daniel Wells received this intelligence, they immediately supposed that Johnston would try and force his way into the Valley without waiting for spring. They acted promptly, and on November the eighth, mustered into service thirteen hundred additional Legionaires.

Edward, who had enjoyed a few weeks rest at home, was again called up. This was not to be a cavalry maneuver. They were to march afoot through the wintry snows lying in the canyons and mountains to the north and east.

By now Edward held a commission in the Utah Militia. When he was called up in November however it was as a Legionaire. He was now designated as Captain of Ten following the old organizational pattern of the Nauvoo Legion, i.e., units of tens, twenties and fifties. This time there was to be no Federal pay. The old paymaster was now the enemy. The men under his command were Thomas Howells, Thomas Galworthy, Thomas Parker, David Eames, Ed. L. Parry, Edward Parry, George C. Bywater, Owen Roberts (his brother-in-law), and William Lloyd.*

On November the eighth, Edward notified his men, and on the 9th they assembled and billeted at the old Jarvis residence. On the 10th they started for Echo Canyon. It was a bitterly cold day. The day before, the City had received a heavy fall of snow and it was "still coming down." While the storm made it difficult, it was a "godsend." As the Legionaires plodded through the drifts and endured the cold, runners from the east advised them that it was forty-five degrees below zero at Fort Bridger, that the drifts

*Military Records, Archives, Utah State Capitol.

were eight feet deep, and that a savage blizzard was raging around the besieged Federal Troops, who had finally encamped at Black's Fort and Fort Bridger, which by now was called Fort Scott. With this encouraging news, the Legionaires pressed on.

They spent the first night at Killian's Canyon (Emigration) 12 miles east of the City. That night Edward states, "I very nearly lost my life from cold and exposure."* Several of his men sustained frozen hands and feet. Their ration consisted of one griddlecake per meal. This was fried in candle grease. (Candles were made of animal fat in 1857). Clothing was inadequate and their only shelter consisted of a ragged and delapidated piece of canvas which was fashioned into a tent.

The second day they crossed the Little Mountain. It was bitter cold. Remnants of bed quilts and blankets served as overcoats. One member of a Company from Lehi had no shoes at all for a time. A man by the name of James Nelson was covered by only a suit made of flax. But they endured and camped that night at the foot of the Big Mountain.

The following day several of the men in Edward's unit froze their feet while crossing the Big Mountain. On the 13th they traveled eight miles and camped near the last crossing on East Canyon Creek. On the 14th they did 14 miles and camped that night on the Weber at the mouth of Echo Canyon. They remained there until the 17th, constructing a battery. On the 17th they moved four miles up the Canyon where they located a camp. Several of the Legionaires constructed tents in wickiup fashion. They called that place Wickiup City.*

While at Wickiup City, Edward went with several of the other officers and men to inspect the defenses. The Legionaires who had been in the Canyon earlier had built stone walls on the upper slopes and excavated trenches into the sides of the Canyon to protect the snipers who were to pour a hail of bullets upon the United States soldiers as they marched below them. boulders were balanced so that a push would send them hurtling down. Some of the parties had dug deep ditches in the Valley floor and constructed dams which, when opened, would send water through the conduits into the Army's path.*

On Saturday, the 28th day of November, 1857, news came to the camp that Alfred Cumming, the newly commissioned Governor of the Territory, had sent a letter to Brigham Young stating that he intended to enter the City with a few Federal troops to escort him and that if his entrance was resisted, he would come with an armed force.

On Sunday, the 29th, John Taylor and Franklin D. Richards, of the Quorum of The Twelve and Council of Fifty, preached at Wickiup City. The substance of their remarks was mostly concerning the situation and the blessing of God which "had been so visibly manifested in protecting the people from the hands of their enemies."*

By the first of December it was obvious, because of the heavy snow and cruel cold, that Johnston's Army would be frozen in at Bridger and Black's Fork until spring. Thus, the Legionaires had met the enemy and, without firing a shot, had watched its defeat at the hands of the storm, for, as Thomas Jeremy wrote, "God ruled, and not James Buchanan."* Thomas Jeremy knew in his mind that the Kingdom of God meant and why it ruled and not President James Buchanan.

On the second of December they left for home, arriving there on the 4th. Back in Salt Lake City, the people and The Leaders were delighted at the developments in the

*From *History of Edward Ashton*, and *Journal of Thomas Jeremy*.

war. Every report brought fresh evidence of the Army's ineptitude and the weather's savage toll. General Daniel Wells sent an encouraging express which read:

The enemy is weakening daily . . . They are in a close place. Their provisions are fast diminishing and there is but little prospect of anything but starvation before them.

He also reported that a great many of the Federal troops desired to desert.

That winter the Legionnaires were treated by the people as heroes.⁴ During that December and January, Edward's small family enjoyed a brief but comfortable interlude. They were protected from the enemy by the weather, sheltered by their home, and fed by their carefully husbanded provisions. Common danger and isolation bound them together with other Welshmen of the Fifteenth Ward into a bond of brotherhood. Brigham Young was worshiped more than ever by most of the Pioneers who believed that the situation had been well handled and who believed that God was on their side and not on the side of James Buchanan. But behind the facade of normalcy was the unpleasant knowledge that "come spring" they would have to reckon with Johnston's Army which was "licking its wounds" and nursing its injured pride less than a short wintry one hundred miles away.

Other events however were stirring which in 1858 would interrupt the comfortable and peaceful interlude enjoyed by Edward and his family. This involved the rescue of the Lemhi Saints in what was then known as the Oregon Territory.

In 1857, because of the impending war, most of the members of the Church at Carson City and San Bernardino had been recalled to Salt Lake City. There was another group in the extended kingdom which remained that year where it was. That group consisted of the Lemhi Saints. They were settled near the Salmon River in the Oregon Territory now Idaho. General Johnston and his command, sulking at Fort Bridger, unbelievably stirred up a Shoshone and Bannock Rebellion by offering a bounty for Lemhi Mormons—dead or alive.

The first news of trouble came on the 25th day of February, 1858. On that day, Brigham Young reported in his Journal:

The herdsmen at Fort Lemhi were attacked by Indians, etc. First shot Bro. Fountain Welsh in the small of the back and then beat him on the head with their guns and stripped him and left him for dead . . . They then pursued Bro. Andrew Quigley and shot him in the shoulder (the ball is still there) and beat him on the head with rocks. They then robbed him of his pistol, hat, belt, and whip, and left him for dead. They then went after the brethren who had left the Fort to the assistance of the herdsman, Bro. Geo. McBride, who was the first who rode up. He went among the Indians and endeavored to retake the cattle. They shot him through the heart and arms, then scalped him and took his clothes. Bro. Orson M. Rose, the third herdsman, ran for the Fort pursued by the Indians. He ran until he was exhausted and fell. Pres. Thos. G. Smith and E.T. Bernard rode to his assistance in time to prevent the Indians from killing him. As soon as the Indians recognized Bro. "Smith", they shouted Pa Pe Sp" (Big) Captain and attacked him. He was shot in the arm, one ball went through his hat, another cut off his suspender in front and another cut the opposite one on his back; his horse was shot through the lower jaw, which

made him unmanageable; one stirrup leather broke and Bro. Smith fell off. Bro. Barnard caught his horse and they mounted and they made their escape to the Fort. . . The Indians drove off two hundred and twenty head of cattle and 30 horses. As the Indians were on their way to their camp they met five of the brethren hauling logs, etc.; they attacked them and shot Bro. James T. Miller through the heart and both arms and wounded Hezkil Shurtleff in the right arm and Bro. Oliver Robinson in the hand. The brethren hid in the brush, the Indians took their teams and burned their wagons and stripped Bro. Miller perfectly naked.

A man named J.H. Powell, who came into the Flat Head Country with Governor Stevens' surveying party, and was after wards in the employ of persons under Mr. Burr, late U.S. Surveyor in Utah, was with the Indians and assisted them in the plundering, wounding and killing peaceful and unoffending American citizens.*

Brigham Young reacted immediately by calling up 200 Legionaires. At this time some of the Legionaires were still in the Bear Lake area under the command of Colonel Kimball, Callister, Cunningham, and others. Lot Smith, Porter Rockwell, and Howard Egan were also still in the field, probably in the Echo Canyon area. Some of the 200 called up came from Salt Lake and Davis Counties. As they rode north they were apparently reinforced by Legionaires still in the Bear Lake area.

The detail which started from Salt Lake City and Davis County was under the command of Captain Christopher Layton. It was supported by additional forces as it moved north. Edward Ashton, who was now thirty-four years of age, was once again on the move. This time it was a Cavalry maneuver. In Edward's ten (now following the Nauvoo Legion table of organization) were Mark Hill, Edward Robbins, Haun(?) Hanson, Edward Ashton, B.C. Critchlow, William Brown, Lee Hall, James Duckworth, Hyrum Merrill and D. Durphey (the teamster).**

The men were mounted and well supplied. Edward, unlike most of the men, had two horses. His weapon was a "yager."***

Thus, Edward, for a second time, was called to assist in the rescue of the Mormons from marauding Indians. The first time in the burning heat of a Southern Utah summer; the second time in the cruel cold of a Salmon River winter from the Shoshone and the Bannock—four hundred miles away. On this second rescue trip there were few settlements along the way. This was the wilderness of Lewis and Clark—practically unchanged since their expedition years before. Edward saw it all. What he could have told us.

I am unable to determine how the detail was commanded after it reached the Legionaires in the Bear River area. Certainly men of higher rank replaced Layton. There it contacted the commands still in the field under William H. Kimball, Geo. D. Grant, Andrew Cunningham, Howard Egan, Thomas Callister, Lot Smith, and others. I expect that several of them joined the expedition—certainly, Colonel Andrew Cunningham and Colonel Nathaniel Jones did. (both bishops in Edward's ward)

**Journal History*, 25 Feb. 1858.

***Military Records, Lemhi Exped., State Capitol Building.*

One reason I am confused on this point is that many years after the Lemhi event a petition was made to Congress to compensate those who participated in the Expedition. Christopher Layton is shown as the Commanding Officer. Edward Ashton's name is included. That list did not include most of those shown in the brigade called by Brigham Young earlier that month. Some, however, were clearly involved as they are mentioned in the dispatches. I have concluded that the detail was augmented as it moved north from Salt Lake County to Davis County to Weber and finally the Bear River area before forging on to the Salmon, along the old Oregon Trail.

In the early part of April 1858, news of the rescue mission reached the City. Brigham Young noted the event:

B.F. Cummings brought news from Salmon River, that all the brethren had started from Salmon River to come in ; that Bishop Cunningham had detached ten men to bring the news. The party was attacked on Bannock Creek by the Indians, who killed Bro. Bailey Lake. They also killed and took from the brethren several animals and packs. Bro. Lake is second cousin to Geo. A. Smith and was one of the most amiable men in the Territory, son of James Lake, Patriarch of Ogden City. Another result of American bribery among Indians, who like Congree, men have their price. A degrading move for a great nation to hire the savages to murder men because of their religion.*

On April 9th the rescue mission returned to the City. Brigham Young, after interviewing the Commanding Officers, wrote:

Friday, Apr. 9, Col. Andrew Cunningham (apparently he had replaced Layton in command), who went north with 200 men, to the relief of the brethren, returned from Salmon River. He has been absent one month and traveled 800 miles. He left Pres. Thomas Smith (the same who was wounded) with 22 teams and 70 men at Spring Creek, and came home with the balance of the command. It stormed nearly all the time he was gone . . .

At Salmon River Old Snagg and his band were very sorry to have the brethren leave . . . Two squaws who had married the brethren refused to come, fearing the soldiers (Johnston's) would kill all the Mormons. One squaw came with her husband. Many of the Indians cried when the brethren left . . .*

Col. Nathaniel V. Jones (another indication that others joined Captain Layton as they proceeded north) said that several of the brethren had been to Ben Simonds' camp on Bear River and were told at three different times that they were our friends, but that Gen. Johnson (Johnston) had offered them 150.00 for every Mormon they would bring and 1000 for Lot Smith. Ben Simonds said he would not accept the offer, for he was our friend. But he expected an agent (Army) there today to distribute \$15,000.00 of presents

**Journal History*, Apr. 3, 1858, page 301.

**Journal History*, Apr. 9, 1858.

among the Indians. There were 1000 Indian Warriors on the ground. Our brethren regard them with suspicion, although Simonds said after he got the presents he would tell what he would do.*

Any group commanded by such men as Andrew Cunningham and Thomas Callister had to be rough and tough. This group was obviously specially selected for that very reason. It helps to understand Edward Ashton's reputation as being "respected" and "a rugged type."**

Notes to Chapter Twenty-Three

¹The material contained is taken from formal invitation sent to Samuel Wooley Sen. It is probable that Edward received the same invitation because of his position in the Legion which always performed at functions of this type.

²The only good treatise on *The Mountain Meadow Massacre* is written by Juanita Brooks. This event, as much as any other, caused the Territory of Nevada to be created out of The Utah Territory. See Chapter 25

³I had an opportunity during my law practice to represent a remnant group of Navajo Indians, who live in the most inaccessible and remote area of the United States—Navajo Mountain in Southern Utah. These Indians are descendants of Hoskinini, who was a fugitive from Kit Carson during the Civil War and another fugitive known as White Man Killer, who got his name as a result of killing Lot Smith near Tuba, Territory of Arizona. This caused him to flee to the remote and inaccessible Navajo Mountain where he remained till his death. The Indians in that area are still very bitter and anti-Mormon. Mormon Missionaries are not permitted in the area.

⁴That winter there was a blossoming of poems, music, and tales which make up an interesting body of folklore of the period. The best book dealing with these matters is *Saints of Sage and Saddle*, by Austin and Alta Fife.

**Journal History*, Apr. 9, 1858.

**Obit., *Deseret News*, 1904.

Chapter Twenty-Four

Negotiation and Settlement—End of War— And Beginning of Federal Domination

Lemhi was the last of several outposts which had to be abandoned. Brigham Young's temporal Kingdom was crumbling and contracting. The pressure was on. It was really the beginning of the end—so far as any hope of an independent Kingdom was concerned. I don't think Brigham Young accepted that eventuality. John M. Bernheisel, who represented the Territory in Congress and who was a member of the Council of Fifty, saw more clearly than Brigham Young what was happening politically. He was Utah's Kissinger. The correspondence between him and Brigham Young in the spring of 1858, reveals repeated attempts to convince Brigham Young that fighting the U.S. Army was futile; that hopes for an independent Kingdom were useless. Brigham Young stoutly resisted. Bernheisel, without Brigham Young's approval, even suggested that the Mormons go to the islands of the sea (where they already had settlements) and that the Federal Government compensate them for all the property abandoned by doing so. Brigham Young was understandably upset by Bernheisel's unauthorized proposal.¹ While Brigham Young at this time talked like a fighter he must have known that his people could not fight the entire United States Army and he must have known better than Bernheisel, that his people could not, and should not, disperse again. He also on the positive side knew that newspapers in the east were showing admiration for Mormon grit and courage in turning back the Army. The world loves an underdog in any fight, especially if the underdog gets in some "good licks." He intended to exploit this position and sell to the American people the fact that the Mormons were an unjustly accused and persecuted people at the mercy of a bungling Army and that they would fight and die for their rights. Americans had taken some satisfaction and delight in seeing other Americans, even if they were Mormons, make the Army look foolish. Armies are never popular.

Brigham Young had a selling job to do and he had about 100 days to get the job

done. First, he sent for the Mormon's old and trusted friend, Colonel Thomas L. Kane.² Before responding to the call, Kane interviewed his friend, President Buchanan, and received permission from the President to consult with Governor Cumming, who was with the Army at Fort Scott. The Colonel traveled incognito as Dr. Osborne from New York City to Panama, 25 Feb. 1858, thence to Los Angeles and finally arrived in Salt Lake City. At Salt Lake he and Brigham consulted together long enough for Brigham Young to give him the Mormon point of view, which was a willingness to accept Cumming as Governor, provided he came without the Army.

It was decided that a breach must be driven between Johnston and the newly appointed Governor, who it was reported was a very vain man. Kane departed for Camp Scott. In the meantime, Brigham sent word to Bernheisel, urging that he request the President to appoint a Peace Commission to investigate matters in the Territory, and that in the interim, the Army be withdrawn.

Colonel Kane, at Camp Scott, played his role well. Two days after his arrival, he had Cumming and Johnston embroiled in a bitter feud. Kane took the side of Cumming and even challenged Johnston to a duel. A studied effort was made to appease the vanity of Cumming and to insult and ignore Johnston. Cumming was told that the Mormons were anxious to receive him as their Governor, but not with the Army. Soon rumors were heard in the City that trouble had arisen at Camp Scott between the civil and military authorities.

In April of 1858, Bernheisel, was successful, and President Buchanan sent two Peace Commissioners to Fort Scott. Their names were Lazarus Powell and Ben McCulloch.

That month Cumming was escorted in "triumph" into the Bountiful area (called Sessions at that time), the first settlement on the west side of the mountains, by an armed Honorary Guard of uniformed soldiers, as the new Territorial Governor. But the soldiers who made up the guard were not General Johnston's; they were uniformed Nauvoo Legionnaires. Johnston and his soldiers were left at Camp Scott with strict Government orders to "stay put." Porter Rockwell accompanied the guard but, of course, not in uniform.³ He must have added a colorful touch, sitting un militarily astride his horse. One of his cheeks was probably bulging with a load of tobacco, and it is an even bet that he was not sober. He probably made a studied effort to give the whole affair a ludicrous touch. Only a few weeks before, he had been at the Army's throat stealing cattle and plundering the Army's wagon trains. Now he and the Legion had stolen the United States Army's privilege of acting as the Honor Guard for the new Governor. Good old Port, terrible old Port. This was his day.

The party stayed overnight at Sessions. The new Governor was serenaded by a band of Mormon musicians who played non-Mormon airs such as Yankee Doodle and Hail Columbia. Only a few days before, they had been playing their own battle hymns. Now their mission was to appeal to the vanity of Cumming in every way.

While Brigham Young desired to appeal to Cumming's vanity, he also wanted to impress him with the fact that the Army would not be tolerated. Therefore, most of the Church members had been sent south to the settlements in Utah county. Some were to remain to attend Cumming and guard all abandoned property. Edward Ashton was among those who remained. His wife, who was expecting their third child, and his two sons, Edward and Jed, had left the City earlier for Spanish Fork where many of the Welsh resided. The humble Ashton home was boarded up.

Next morning the new Governor and his party were escorted to Salt Lake City. On the way, Cumming saw the road filled with "his subjects." Their wagons piled high with goods and supplies, all moving southward. He stopped his carriage and asked some of the people why they were leaving. He was told that they were leaving their homes until it was clear that the Army would not come into the City. When he reached the City it was quiet as a cemetery and Brigham was not at home. Only a few non-Mormons were on hand to greet "their Governor." On the 13th of April, Brother Brigham returned to meet with Colonel Kane and the new Governor of the Territory.

When Cumming arrived, Colonel Kane reported to Brigham Young and "told him he had caught the fish, now you can cook it as you have a mind to." And advised that "Governor" Cumming wishes "Governor" Young to call on him.* "Governor" Young invited George A. Smith to accompany him in meeting Cumming. Colonel Kane introduced them. The reactions of both sides are interesting. George A. Smith noted:

...his first impression when he saw Cumming, was that he was a toper, but on examining him with glasses he concluded he was a moderate drinker and a hearty eater. He was well dressed in black, had a ruddy face and grey hair; his head was small around the top; would think he had more chops than brains; probable weight about 200 pounds.*

Two days later, Colonel Kane reported Cumming's impression of his visitors:

Albert Cumming (who professes to be an adept in physiology) said that Governor Young was a man of lamb-like disposition and possessed a superior brain, a mind capable of grasping anything.

President Kimball was fierce, brave, unflinching, unchangeable man and more to be dreaded than any of the others; fine determined temperament and a very fine man, and if any of them needed hanging it would be him.

George A. Smith possesses an unaccountable memory and would make an excellent historian and number one politician if he had a chance.

They were three exceedingly fine intellectual men and he had been deceived in what he had heard of them. He liked them.**

When Edward Ashton returned from the Lemhi Mission, he was re-elected Lt. of Company B of the Second Battalion, Second Brigade, 9th Military District of the Utah Militia (Nauvoo Legion). He was then specially assigned to Colonel Robert T. Burton, who had command of the abandoned City. He was, therefore, present when the two Peace Commissioners arrived from Camp Scott. These two gentlemen brought with them a Presidential pardon and offer of amnesty, if Brigham Young would agree that he and his people would abide by the laws and permit the troops to enter the City. Brigham responded as follows:

I have listened very attentively to the Commissioners, and I will say, as

**Journal History*, Apr. 13, 1858

***Journal History*, Apr. 15, 1858

far as I'm concerned, I thank President Buchanan for forgiving me, but I really cannot tell what I have done. It is true Lot Smith burned some wagons containing government supplies for the army. This was an overt act, and if it is for this we are to be pardoned, I accept the pardon.

How could he have said it better? His acceptance of the pardon constituted a sly condemnation of the Government's position, all said with a sardonic touch. Brigham Young had not only a dramatic bearing, he had a sense of humor.

It was finally agreed that the Army might enter the Territory but with the understanding that it would not encamp in the vicinity of Salt Lake City. General Johnston chose Cedar Valley, twenty-five miles southwest of the Temple. At the request of the Commissioners, he issued a proclamation declaring "that no person whatever will be in anywise interfered with or molested in his person or right, or in the peaceful pursuit of his avocation."

Once during the negotiations which were conducted in Social Hall in the presence of most of the Legion Officers, General Johnston moved his troops toward the City on the pretext that it was necessary to find forage for his animals. The ever watchful Porter Rockwell rode without hesitation and without stopping into the City and broke into the meeting. He whispered something into Brigham Young's ear. Edward Ashton, along with those who were outside the building, barged into the meeting behind Porter. They knew something important had occurred.

Brigham Young stood up abruptly and said, "Are you aware that those troops are on the move toward the City?" "It cannot be," Cumming replied. Brigham looked over the crowd and shouted, "Is Brother Dunbar present?" "Yes sir, cried Edward's Scotch friend." "Brother Dunbar, sing Zion," Brigham told him. With that, Porter took two great strides and stood feet apart beside Brigham, his hands on the butts of his pistols, with his fierce eyes fixed on the two Commissioners. Brother Dunbar sang:

Up, awake, ye defenders of Zion!
The foe's at the door of your homes;
Let each heart be the heart of a Lion
Unyielding and proud as he roams.

Remember the wrongs of Missouri
Forget not the fate of Nauvoo
When the God hating foe is before you,
Stand firm and be faithful and true.

By the mountains our Zion's surrounded;
Her warriors are noble and brave;
And their faith on Jehovah is founded
Whose power is mighty to save.

Opposed by a proud boasting nation,
Their numbers, compared, may be few
But their union is known through creation,
And they've always been faithful and true.

Shall we bear with oppression forever?
Shall we tamely submit to the foe,
While the ties of our kindred they sever
And the blood of our prophets shall flow?

No, the thought sets the heart wildly beating
Our vows at each pulse we renew;
Ne'er to rest till our foes are retreating,
And to be ever faithful and true.⁴

Long before Dunbar reached the last verse all joined in at the top of their lungs, that is, all except Cumming, the two Commissioners, and Porter Rockwell. They froze in the attitudes Porter had fixed them by his action. They dared not move.

When the defiant singing ended, McCulloch and Powell were ashen. So was the immense and perspiring Cumming. On Brigham Young's signal, the audience had in effect said, "Stop that army or your peace conference is ended."

It was finally agreed that the United States Army could enter the Valley if it would not stop in the City and would set up its encampment at least twenty-five miles from the Temple site. Before this event took place, everyone but a few left for the south. Those who remained under the command of Colonel Burton were left to fire the buildings if Johnston failed to keep the agreement. Edward Ashton's responsibility was the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Ward areas. He chose Brother William Lloyd of his command to remain with him. He, too, was a shoemaker by trade, being employed to "shoe" the many in Brigham Young's household.

Edward and William were the only living souls left in the entire Fifteenth and Sixteenth Ward areas when Johnston and his Army marched west on North Temple. They had set all the houses with faggots and had orders to ignite them if the Army attempted to stop. On the 26th day of June, they lay in the Lucerne ditch in front of the Ashton home on First South and Sixth West, watching the caravan of three thousand men, six hundred wagons, six thousand cattle, horses and mules proceed toward the Jordan River. The Army drums beat a monotonous, weary march step. Except for this sound, and the tiresome pounding of thousands of feet and hoofs, the City was deathly silent. This was no triumphal entry. This was the humiliated foe quietly marching to oblivion. It had not accomplished one small useful purpose, and at what awful expense and suffering!

It is possible that during that night, William Lloyd and Edward Ashton edged near the Army outpost where the Army had camped "over the river." If they did, they found it quiet as the tomb. Only the Mormon crickets volunteered any comment.

The next day most of the encampment left early for Cedar Valley. William and Edward probably rode in their wake until they were sure of their destination. That night they likely slept in the Narrows, and the next day, which was a Sunday, they, like all the other Militiamen who had been left to burn the City, reported to Brigham Young at Provo. There, under a temporary Bowery, he addressed them as follows:

What is the present situation of affairs? For us the clouds seem to be breaking. Probably many of you already learned that General Johnston passed through Salt Lake City with his command under the strictest discipline.

Not a house, fence, or sidewalk has been impinged upon by any of his command. Of course, the camp followers are not under his control, but as far as the command is concerned, while passing through the city, he has carried out his promises to the letter. As soon as General Johnston finds a place to locate his command—when we get news what he is going to do with his troops—we will go home.

The next day Edward, who had not seen his children since shortly after his return from the Lemhi Expedition, joined them at Spanish Fork. He was in for a pleasant surprise. When Jane and her two children had left early that year, Jeddie had been suffering from a severe intestinal infection. Edward at that time was afraid that he would never see his son alive again. During the next night, he dreamed his son was dead. The dream was so real that he thought it "was a message from his heavenly father." As he approached the encampment, he recognized his oldest son coming toward him leading a baby boy. He gathered the baby in his arms and asked, "Who is this little lad?" Edward stared at his father and said, "This is Jeddie." Edward was overjoyed.*

The situation at Spanish Fork was almost beyond belief. Families were camped all over the landscape. Some were living in covered wagons with the wheels removed. A few were sheltered in tents, many in wickiup fashion. Others lived in houses or shelters made of thatched straw. A few were living in holes along the banks and in the hillside. All the people were very much exposed to the weather. Fortunately, it made little difference at that time of the year. In this wretched situation the women carried on all the ordinary duties that pertain to maintaining a home "such as making butter, cheese, raising stock, poultry, spinning, etc."**

Thus ended the Mormon War. From beginning to end it was a political fumble. The *New York Times* commenting on it, wrote:

The whole story of the war is crowded by as much ignorance, stupidity and dishonesty, as any Government ever managed to get into the annals of a single year. An army was sent to chastise rebels, before it was clearly ascertained whether or not there were any rebels to chastise. It was sent forward in the fall, just when it ought to have reached its destination . . . After it had undergone six months of suffering, and was fully prepared to force the strongest natural position in the world, Commissioners were sent in search of the rebel foe, and it was then discovered there was no foe at all. Governor Cumming ought to have gone to Salt Lake City in the autumn. He goes there in the spring, and is received with all the honors. The commander of the forces writes . . . that Cumming is deceived, and that the Mormons are still hostile. The public is in suspense, and knows not which of two such authorities to believe, when the news comes that there were no Mormons left, either to fight us or to obey us, as they are abandoning their territory en masse, rather than submit to our rule. We have made a desert and we call it peace.**

**History of Jedediah Ashton*, written by his children

***New York Times*, June 17, 1858

Whoever was responsible for the United States participation in The Viet Nam War should have read the history of the Utah War first.

Notes to Chapter Twenty-Four

¹On February 8, 1858, a brigade of mounted men commanded by William H. Kimball, George D. Grant, Andrew Cunningham, Howard Egan, Thomas Callister, Lot Smith, M.D. Hambleton, Warren Snow, Hanson Walker, Brigham Young, Jr., Chauncey W. West, and others was sent to scout the movements of Johnston's Army. They seem to have had headquarters in the Bear River area along the old Oregon Trail. I don't know if Edward Ashton was with them or not. Certainly they were all old friends of his. He was with some of them on the Lemhi Expedition. He may have been with them as early as February.

²Colonel Kane was such a close friend of the Mormon Pioneers that he and Brigham Young had a code which required deciphering. Some claim he was secretly baptized as a member of the Church while he was at Kaneshville and while he was very ill. It is more likely that he was a member of the Council of Fifty.

³Porter Rockwell was, in fact, a Major in the Nauvoo Legion. He does not seem to have had a command. Apparently he operated more as an individual with private assignments. When he drew supplies as a Major, there was always a bountiful supply of whiskey allotted to him. He was an original member of the Council of Fifty. Porter was not a bold man; in fact, he was overly cautious and suspicious. His acts were of the covert variety. Soldiers in the Militia ridiculed him for his caution and undue apprehension. (See Journal History Accounts, Fall and Spring of 1857 and 1858).

⁴There are two stories relative to which song was sung. Some accounts state that it was Charles W. Penrose's song. This song is not nearly as warlike as the one given here. I have chosen the one included here for this reason. The perhaps overly dramatic account of what occurred at that time is taken from *Saints of Sage and Saddle*, *ibid*.

Chapter Twenty-Five

Birth of Third Son and Post-War Years 1858-1860

Late that summer the futile struggle for power between Brigham Young and the Federal Government abated for awhile. This gave the devoted followers of Brigham time to return to the important task of minding their own humble affairs. When they returned to their abandoned and neglected homes they found their little farms parched and rank with weeds. Only the trees survived. Edward, like the others, plowed it in and started over. That year the Pioneers did their spring planting twice —the second time, as in 1847, in July. But they were happy. They had won their battle, and the great United States Army was nursing its pride and wasting its energies in the desolation of Camp Floyd. I wonder if it would have made any real difference to Edward and his devoted friends whether Cumming or Brigham Young was Governor—whether Federal Judges or Heber C. Kimball and other leading Mormons presided in judicial affairs. In the end Federal Judges were sustained and Federal Governors did administer the political affairs of the Territory. The struggle for power represented an appalling waste, and, it seems to me, accomplished very little.

During the lull in the conflict in the summer and fall of 1858, Edward worked for William Jennings. Jennings was the son of a wealthy father who had emigrated to the United States from Birmingham, England. He had made a small fortune in New York City and later in St. Louis in the butcher business. While William was in St. Louis in 1851, he met and married Miss Jane Walker, a twenty-one year old Mormon girl, who had emigrated from Europe about the same time Edward Ashton had left Wales. She and Edward were members of the same branch of the Church at St. Louis. Edward probably met William Jennings at that time.

In the fall of 1852, Jennings and his wife, very likely with St. Louis members, including Edward Ashton, reached Salt Lake City. With his surplus means Jennings had purchased three wagon loads of groceries. These were sold at a handsome profit.

With this capital he continued in the butcher business, which he gradually expanded to include tanning, saddle and harness making, and the manufacture of boots and shoes.

Shortly before the *Utah War*, Jennings supplied the mining camps in Carson Valley with meat. When Brigham Young recalled the Carson Valley members of the Church, Jennings immediately began the expansion of his Salt Lake City operations. He soon became Utah's leading merchant, in fact, one of the great merchants of the west.

Edward's work with Jennings consisted of making shoes or doing the same type of work he did earlier for Ellis while in Wales. His employment with John Taylor, George Q. Cannon, and John R. Winder may have been of the same nature. 'This, together with his military career, under the commands of Kimball, Callister, Burton, Winder, and Cunningham, was more than coincidental and placed him in a position where he had to know what was going on in the Territory, particularly as it related to the governmental conflict.

As Jennings became more and more prosperous his interest in his religion dimmed and faded until it was almost consumed in his burning ambition to gain wealth. He, however, remained a good friend of Brigham Young and remained active in the Council of Fifty. He and Brigham Young often engaged jointly in several profitable business ventures.²

On September 11, 1858, the third Ashton son was born. He was named Brigham Willard Ashton, in honor of Brigham Young and Willard Richards, who had died in 1854. Jane and Edward now had three sons, the oldest only a little over three years of age. Their little two room home was getting crowded. It is described here because it was more typical of what existed in the Territory than one sees visiting the Lion House. It was in humble homes like this where the Mormon ideals of thrift, industry, and integrity were nurtured, developed, and where Mormonism survived and flourished. It was also from homes like this that future leaders emerged.

The Ashton home in 1858 consisted of two rooms. One room contained a fireplace where all the cooking was done and which furnished all the heat. The other room served as sleeping quarters. The furniture was improvised. Jane had, however, succeeded by now in making a mattress of duck and goose down which replaced the old corn shucks. All the eating was done in the fireplace room. She had established a corner for herself where she read by candlelight almost every night. Her reading consisted almost entirely of The Scriptures. She found in these books the simple wisdom which she employed in the life of her family. She was especially concerned about not going into debt for anything. It is very possible that in the simple economic society in which she and Edward lived, they did not contract a single financial debt during their entire married lives.

Outside the little home the wasteful political struggle for power simmered on. When President Buchanan appointed Cumming Governor, he also appointed other Territorial officers, including more Federal Judges. One of these was John Cradlebaugh, who was assigned by Cumming to the Second Judicial District of Provo. This gentleman had as much to do with the political future of the Territory and State of Utah as any other single person. His conduct in Provo created a stir which almost activated the smouldering situation into another Utah War. Again, Edward Ashton, as an officer in the Nauvoo Legion, had a part to play.

Obviously the Judges appointed by the Federal Government could not consistently be accepted by the Mormon people. This was because their Kingdom of God, the State of Deseret had its own Judges who were regularly elected and who functioned in all

judicial matters—just as they had done at Nauvoo. Therefore, conflict was inevitable. That conflict came riding into the Territory all ready for a fight in the person of John Cradlebaugh. He typified the heat and passion characteristic of anti—Mormons of the period. His courtroom became an arena and a forum rather than a judicial tribunal. Even his appearance was unjudicial. He wore a patch over one eye, was large and coarse, and rode into the City unheralded on a load of wood. Cradlebaugh knew he would not be accepted; therefore, he immediately assumed a superior air and boldly proceeded by calling a Grand Jury which he instructed as follows:

You are the tools, the dupes, the instruments of a tyrannical church despotism. The heads of your church order and direct you. You are taught to obey their orders and commit these horrid murders (*Mountain Meadows Massacre, Parrish and Potter murders at Springville*). Deprived of your liberty you have lost your manhood, and become the willing instruments of bad men.

Of course, a Mormon Grand Jury instructed in such a manner by such a Judge, in such an environment, did what any reasonable man should have expected them to do. They refused to indict. Cradlebaugh should have known they would do so, either because they were dupes or because they were a Grand Jury of independent and proud men.

During the course of the jury's deliberations, Cradlebaugh made a requisition on General Johnston, at Camp Floyd, for troops to protect certain witnesses. Mayor Kimball Bullock of Provo protested the presence of the troops and appealed to Governor Cumming, claiming the Judge had no right to call out the Army, except through the Governor. On March 27, 1859, Cumming issued a proclamation protesting against military action of his old enemy, Johnston, thus taking open action against the military and the Judges.

In the meantime, Judge Charles E. Sinclair, another Federal Judge sitting in The Third Judicial District in Salt Lake City, had urged in his charge to the Grand Jury that they issue against the leading men of the Territory indictments for treason, for intimidation of the courts, and polygamy. The Mormons felt this constituted a breach of the amnesty and pardon which had been granted by President Buchanan as a condition to the entrance of Johnston's Army into the Valley.

Cumming sided with the Mormons. Thus the lines were drawn. On one side the Pioneers supported by Cumming and on the other the Judges supported by the Army and most of the non—Mormons. The situation was tense. At about this time, Governor Cumming detected a conspiracy by the Army to arrest Brigham Young. The officers entrusted with its execution presented themselves at the Governor's office to request his cooperation. But Governor Cumming stoutly and loyally resisted the attempted outrage. He later related what occurred to T.B. Stenhouse, as follows:

They had' got the dead wood on Brigham Young this time,' so they said, as they unfolded to me their plans. If Brigham resisted, General Johnston's artillery was to make a breach in the wall surrounding the premises, and they would take him by force and carry him to Camp Floyd.

I listened to them, sir, as gravely as I could, and examined their papers. They rubbed their hands and were jubilant; they 'had got the dead wood on

Brigham Young ! I was indignant sir, and told them, 'By God, gentlemen, you can't do it! When you have a right to take Brigham Young, gentlemen, you shall have him without creeping through walls. You shall enter through his door with head erect as become representatives of your Government. But till that time, gentlemen, you can't touch Brigham Young while I live, by God!³

When Cumming learned that two regiments were marching from Camp Floyd to the City, he did an amazing thing. He turned to the Nauvoo Legion for protection and notified General Daniel Wells to hold the Militia in readiness to act on orders. By two o'clock on the Monday following, the 23rd day of April, 1859, Edward Ashton and five thousand other Nauvoo Legionnaires were under arms, martialled and ready to once again do battle with the United States Army! This time their Commander in Chief was Governor Cumming. [Query: were they then acting as Militiamen or Legionnaires?]

When this occurred several of the officers were promoted in rank and received their new commissions from Governor Cumming. Edward Ashton either then or earlier was promoted to the rank of Captain.⁴ Edward's command was the 1st and 2nd Platoon of the Third Battalion. A platoon consisted of 10 to 15 men. This Battalion was organized by Robert T. Burton. Each platoon had a mule team and camp equipment, and each man received his share of powder, lead, and caps. The Battalion had its own band and a cannon. Edward at this time was supplied with a horse, a rifle, and issued 50 lbs of powder, 50 lbs of lead, and 50 caps. This was more than he needed, and some undoubtedly was intended for distribution to his men.

The situation was explosive. One false move and the tinder box would have exploded. Fortunately, at this critical juncture, an official letter from Washington informed the factions that the military under Johnston's command could only be used as a posse on a call from the Governor. This "pulled the teeth" of Johnston and the Judges. The disappointed Cradlebaugh, finding he could not have his way, left Provo and settled near Carson City, which was still a part of the Utah Territory. There he attempted to function in his office. On his way to the Carson area he visited the Mountain Meadows. Later, at Carson City, he used the information gained there to foment the citizens of that area, many of whom were miners, into issuing a Declaration of Independence from the Utah Territory. This occurred in 1859 and was the prelude to the formation of the Nevada Territory in 1861.

Cradlebaugh was twice sent by the Nevada Territory as its delegate to Congress. There he got even and became the Mormon's most damaging political enemy. From the floor of the House of Representatives he blasted and vilified the Mormon people, and fought them at every turn. He, more than any other individual, caused Statehood to be postponed and the Territory to be whittled down.⁵ His best argument was the Mountain Meadow Massacre with a poor assist from the anti-polygamists. In the 1850's polygamy was not seriously bothering frontier America. A few reformers like Harriett Beecher Stowe made it, like slavery, a part of their crusade. On polygamy they were a minority. It was not until the Victorian period was in full bloom in the latter part of the century that polygamy became an abomination to most Americans.

On July 1st, 1859, the *Nauvoo Legion* proudly demonstrated the Pioneer's gratitude to Governor Cumming and "their country," as follows:

Special Order No. 2.

Headquarters Nauvoo Legion

Adjutant-General's Office, G.S.L. City, July 1st
(1859)

Monday, the 4th, will be the eighty-third anniversary of the birth of American Freedom. It is the duty of every American citizen to commemorate the great event, not in a boisterous revelry, but with hearts full of gratitude to Almighty God, the Great Father of our rights.

The Lieutenant-General directs for the celebration in the City as follows:

1st.—At sunrise a salute of thirteen guns will be fired, commencing near the residence of His Excellency the Governor, to be answered from a point on South Temple Street, near the residence of President Brigham Young.

The national flag will be hoisted at the signal from the first gun, simultaneously at the residences of Governor Cumming and President Young, at the office of the Territorial Secretary, and the residence of the United States Attorney. Captain Pitt's band will be stationed at sunrise opposite the residence of Governor Cumming, and Captain Ballo's band opposite the residence of President Young.

At the hoisting of the flags, the bands will play the 'Star Spangled Banner.'

2nd.—After the morning salute the guns will be parked at the Court House 'till noon, when a salute of 33 guns will be fired.

3d.—At sunset a salute of five guns, in honor of the Territories, will be fired, and the flags lowered.

4th.—For the above service Lieutenant Atwood and two platoons of artillery will be detailed. Two six pounder iron guns will be used for the salutes. Also a first lieutenant and two platoons for the 1st cavalry will be detailed as a guard, and continue on guard through the day. The whole detachment will be dismissed after the sunset salute.

5th.—Colonel J.C. Little, of the General's Staff, will perform the duties of marshal of the day, with permission to select such deputies as he may require to assist him. The Declaration of Independence will be read by him from the steps of the Court House at noon.

6th.—The bands and the services to be performed by them will be under the direction of Col. Duzette.

By order of
Lt. Gen. Daniel H. Wells
Adj. Gen. James Ferguson.

Notes To Chapter Twenty-Five

¹John R. Winder came to Utah in 1853, a year after Edward Ashton. He and Edward were the same age. His energy and ability made him a military, ecclesiastical, political,

and business leader. From Bishop of the Fourteenth Ward in 1872, he rose to First Counselor in the Church Presidency where he served from 1901 until his death in 1910. At the time the Militia was disbanded he was a Lieutenant Colonel of the Cavalry. His business endeavors are too numerous to mention. Like Jennings he was a shoe manufacturer and tanner. This may account for Edward's employment with him. He held many other positions, some of which were political. I believe Winder, as all other employers of Edward Ashton, was a Fifty. If he was not, it was simply because of his age.

²Jennings and Brigham Young had a business arrangement for the supply of telegraph poles for the building of the telegraph lines. They also were associated together in several railroad ventures. Brigham was often a guest at the home of Jennings, (Devereaux House) which, next to Brigham's, had the best reputation for its cuisine in the Territory. Secretary Seward and Brigham Young were guests of Jennings at one of the most interesting social events of the period. The three men were the only guests, and wined and dined together until late. Seward and Brigham Young formed an instant respect for each other. President Ulysses S. Grant was also a guest at Devereaux House. This, of course, was after the war and Brigham was not invited. Jennings was also invited to be a guest at the White House, where he and one of his wives were entertained. Perhaps Edward Ashton, as an employee of Jennings, witnessed the Seward occasion.

³T.B. Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints*.

⁴The only records I have been able to find show that in 1862 Edward Ashton held the rank of Captain in the military units identified herein. After the Echo War he became a Lieutenant, at which time James Moyle was his Sergeant. In 1862, James Moyle was also listed as a Captain. He had a platoon in the same Battalion as Edward Ashton. Tullige, in his *History of Salt Lake City* includes a short history of some of the leaders. James Moyle was included. In this history the following is written:

After this military service (Echo War) James Moyle was elected Captain of Ten and subsequently he received a commission from Governor Cumming as Captain of a company in the Nauvoo Legion. (Militia)

These commissions were issued at the time indicated herein. It is reasonable to conclude that Edward Ashton received his commission at the same time or prior thereto.

⁵The speech which Cradlebaugh gave on the floor of the House on The Mountain Meadow Massacre was printed and circulated throughout the country. It was fuel for the fire. He spoke as one having authority. He had been in the Territory. He had status as a legal representative of the Nevada Territory, and he had the privilege of using the Congressional forum, with all its privileges, to express his views. He was devastating.

Chapter Twenty-Six

Birth of Three Daughters, Civil War Period 1860-1865

On January 20, 1860, the first Ashton daughter was born. She was given the common Ashton names of Elizabeth and Ann. 1860 was an election year. The *Civil War* was imminent, and Lincoln and Douglas were fighting for the Presidency. Both were old “friends” of the Mormons. It was in the spring of this year that the pony express brought its first message from the western frontier of the United States to the Utah Territory. It took six days. The year before it would have taken two months. The first dispatch carried bad news of a proposed bill before the House to amend the Organic Act of the Territory to remove the seat of government from Salt Lake City to Carson Valley, and to change the name from Utah to Nevada. Cradlebaugh and his friends were busy.

In May of 1860 most of the troops from Camp Floyd moved to New Mexico and Arizona. At about the same time, General Sidney Johnston left quietly via the southern route for Washington. Not once because of the political conflict which existed did he visit Salt Lake City. He and Brigham Young never met, yet each had a great impact on the life of the other.¹

During the entire time that Johnston was in the Territory a strange contradiction existed. Brigham Young was the Governor of the State of Deseret, with the full support of the people, including Edward Ashton and his wife Jane. Cumming was the *de jure* Governor—the only one with authority to act and who was indulged by the people—only because they had no choice. Johnston was in command of a United States Army which was immobilized because of agreement, while a much larger army, also claiming to be a United States Militia, sat quietly awaiting the command not of Cumming or Johnston, but Brigham Young or Daniel H. Wells. Is it any wonder that Utah was denied Statehood for many years?

During the summer of 1861, Mark Twain, along with his brother Orion, who had been appointed secretary for the new Territory of Nevada, visited Salt Lake City. Twain was 26 years of age—and was then known simply as Samuel Clemens. His observations of the City in which Edward and Jane and their three infant sons were living are interesting. He wrote:

Next day we strolled about everywhere through the broad, straight level streets, and enjoyed the pleasant strangeness of a city of fifteen thousand inhabitants with no loafers perceptible in it, and no visible drunkards or noisy people—a great thriving orchard and garden behind every one of them (homes) apparently—and everywhere were workshops, factories, and all manner of industries, and intent faces and busy hands were to be seen wherever one looked, and in one's ears was the ceaseless clink of hammers, the buzz of trade and the contented hum of drum and fly wheels." And then the Twain humor:

The armorial crest of my own State consisted of two desolute bears holding up the head of a gone cask between them and making the pertinent remark, 'United we stand (hic)—Divided we fall.' It was always too figurative for the author of this book. But the Mormon crest was easy. And it was simple, unostentatious and fitted like a glove. It was a representation of a Golden Beehive, with the bees all at work.

He admired the health of the City, with a Twain touch:

Salt Lake City was healthy—an extremely healthy City. They declared there was only one physician in the place and he was arrested every week regularly and held to answer under the vagrant act for having 'no visible means of support.'

On weights and measures:

They always give you a good substantial article of truth in Salt Lake, and good measure and good weight too. Very often if you wished to weigh one of their airiest little commonplace statements you would want the hay scales.

Mark Twain to me is so delicious that I must include his observation on polygamy. While most early visitors observed that Mormon women in the Frontier Territory were attractive, Mark Twain pretended to see them differently:

With the gushing self-sufficiency of youth I was feverish to plunge in headlong and achieve a great reform here (polygamy) until I saw the Mormon women. Then I was touched. My heart was wiser than my head. It warmed toward these poor, ungainly and pathetically 'homely' creatures, and as I turned to hide the generous moisture in my eyes, I said 'No—the man that marries one of them has done an act of Christian charity which entitled him to the kindly applause of mankind, not their harsh censure—and the man that marries sixty of them has done a deed of open-handed generosity so sublime that the nations should stand uncovered in his presence and worship in silence.'

His observation of Brigham Young, who was then sixty years of age, is revealing:

He seemed a quiet, kindly, easy mannered, dignified, self-possessed old gentleman of fifty-five or sixty, and had a gentle craft in his eye that probably belonged there.*

In July 1861, the remaining soldiers at Camp Crittenton were ordered to the States. As a result, all the supplies except arms and ammunition which were destroyed so as not to fall in Mormon hands were sold at public auction. Brigham Young and the Walker brothers were among the purchasers. Brigham Young borrowed \$30,000 from his Jewish friend, N.S. Ronsohoff, to buy pork.² Supplies valued at over \$4,000,000 were sold for \$100,000. The Army safe, which was among the items purchased by Hyrum Bradley Clawson for Brigham Young, contained \$40,000 in gold!³

The purchase of this merchandise had much to do with the later establishment of Walker Brothers Store and the establishment a few years later of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution. Clawson was the first Superintendent of that Institution.

Later that year John W. Dawson, a Lincoln appointee, arrived as Cumming's successor. Even anti-Mormon writers acknowledge his mediocrity. Kelly and Birney, in their bitter anti-Mormon work, *Holy Murder*, write: "Dawson was as poor a stick of political expediency as ever thrust upon the remote territory."⁴

With the advent of the Civil War, the departure of Cumming and the United States Army, Brigham Young had reason to believe the Pioneers could return to the same sort of "home rule" they had enjoyed prior to the Utah War. Dawson was a sad reminder that this was not to be. Regardless of his ability or lack of it, he was doomed to the same treatment accorded Steptoe. He incurred the immediate ill will of the Pioneers when he vetoed a bill for a state convention and for still another memorial petitioning Congress for admission of Utah to Statehood.

Dawson lasted three weeks. In that short period of time he managed to get himself compromised, either from his own folly or as a result of "a Mormon badger game" similar to the one allegedly imposed on Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe in 1854. Dawson was accused of making improper advances to the widow of Welshman Thomas S. Williams. Whether he was framed or not is not so important as the fact that when he was accused, he fled. While waiting for the stage at Mountain Dell, he was waylaid and severely beaten. Some said he was emasculated. The deed was done by several young Mormons. Some of their names were: Lot Huntington (son of Dimick B. Huntington, Indian interpreter), Moroni Clawson (related by marriage to Brigham Young), John M. Jason (a reputed Danite and friend of Bill Hickman), Wilford Luce, Wood Reynolds, Isaac Neibaur, and John P. Smith.

The affair soon reached great proportions. Naturally, regardless of Dawson's guilt or innocence, people in the east concurred in believing that the punishment was quite informal to say the least, and an offense against the dignity of the United States Government. Brigham Young had to do something. The aroma of the Mountain Meadow Massacre was still in the air, and he was accused of being behind both events.

*From the book, *Roughing It*, published in 1872. Samuel Clemens, Original subscription edition, quoted in *Among the Mormons*, edited by William Mulder and Russell Mortensen, pages 345-6

He, therefore, immediately ordered the arrest of five of the young men. Three of them escaped. They were Lot Huntington, John P. Smith, and Moroni Clawson. These three were overtaken by Porter Rockwell and an unnamed posse of five men at Faust's Station in Rush Valley near Camp Crittenton. Porter killed Lot and took the other two as prisoners. Before they reached the jail house they were killed by Salt Lake City policemen. Colonel Andrew Cunningham was Chief of Salt Lake City Police at the time. The two who remained in jail served two months. Hickman's friend, John M. Jason, was later killed.

This event, added to the Mountain Meadow Massacre and the Utah War, and the ever stewing conflict between the State of Deseret and the Federal Territory, delayed Statehood for many years. Mormon enemies claimed that the four had been killed to keep them from talking.

When the Pioneer controlled Legislature met that year it presumed to define the boundaries of the Federal Territory—in fact, the State of Deseret. The Government responded by ordering Colonel Patrick Connor to Utah with California volunteers. That Army, consisting of 750 men, arrived at Fort Crittenton in October 1861.

In this interesting interim period between the exodus of Johnston's Army and the arrival of Connor's Army, Brigham Young had a free hand. The Governor between Dawson and Harding was a Mormon named Frank Fuller. The only Army and law-enforcing agencies were under the direction of General Daniel Wells, Nauvoo Legion, Colonel Robert T. Burton, Salt Lake County Sheriff, and Colonel Andrew Cunningham, Chief of Salt Lake City Police.

In this environment Brigham Young dealt with Joseph Morris in what is called the Morrisite War. Bernard DeVoto wrote that, "neither the history of Utah nor the Mormon Church could be written without detailing the violent disturbance of the public peace which was called the Morrisite War."

It seems to me that he is correct, and in any event because of Edward Ashton's probable participation it is referred to here.

The leader of the Morrisite schism was a puzzling character named Joseph Morris, a visionary convert from England who began uttering prophecies in the name of the Lord. He quickly gathered a loyal following. One of the "revelations" was that Brigham Young had strayed from the path of righteousness. When Brigham Young rebuked Morris for such audacity, Morris withdrew with his followers to the Weber River near Ogden. This was named Kingdon Fort. There he prophesied at will.

Brigham Young, who was Governor of the State of Deseret reacted by obtaining a writ from Judge Kinney, who was "very friendly to the Mormons" for the release of prisoners Morris had taken, and who, it was claimed were kept in Morris' dungeon. The Morrisites refused to recognize the writ. Brigham Young then requested acting Governor Fuller for the use of the Militia. Fuller complied, so once again some of the Militiamen were called to arms. Governor Fuller ordered that a posse of two hundred picked men should be chosen. They were to act under the direction of Colonel Robert T. Burton, Colonel Cunningham, Major Lot Smith, Major William Kimball, and others. With the exception of Burton, the same men who were in command in the Lemhi rescue.

Ten Bishops of ten different Wards chose twenty men from each Ward "who could be trusted" to carry out instructions. Bishop (Colonel) Cunningham, with the help of Colonel Burton, his Counselor, no doubt picked twenty from his Ward. Porter Rockwell (Fourteenth Ward), according to non-Mormon writers, was one of those selected. No

muster roll of the "posse" exists, or, if it does, I have not been able to find it.⁵ If Edward Ashton was not one of the twenty picked from his Ward it was the first time he was not so honored.

There is no reason for detailing what happened. The tale is differently told. It is enough to say that it was badly managed and that it seared the conscience of the Mormon people almost as much as had the Mountain Meadow Massacre. The importance of this event, historically, is that it had an adverse effect on Utah's image "abroad."

It is also revealing, as it shows the capacity of people who have been persecuted to in turn persecute others when the tables are turned. Morris was a harmless and impractical fool. Brigham Young did not need to send an Army to suppress him.

On the 7th of July, 1862, Governor Stephen S. Harding arrived. The advent of Harding is important. When he arrived Brigham Young and the Mormon people treated him as an intruder. From the first they had their own Judges and their own State of Deseret. In March of 1862, Brigham Young expressed himself very clearly on the subject. First, he patriotically lauded the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and American freedom. Then he blasted the Federal Government, seeing it as a conflicting government with the Kingdom of God. He said:

When Congress, or the President of the United States, appoints a governor for a territory, that appointment is not according to the Constitution, though it is according to laws enacted by Congress.*

He then argued that Congress had no power to make such laws because:

Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, Articles Nine and Ten, it is definitely stated that the enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.*

From this, he concluded:

We have a right to settle in any unoccupied and unclaimed part of the public domain owned by the government, where the machinery of the government has not extended, and there govern and control ourselves according to republican principles, and the Congress of the United States is not authorized in the least, by the Constitution that governs it, to make laws for that new settlement, and appoint adjudicators (judges) and Administrators (primarily governors) of the law for it, any more than we have a right to make laws and appoint administrators of the law for California, Ohio, Illinois or Missouri.*

Brigham Young's argument was not original. It had been urged by others. The

**Journal of Discourses*, Mar. 1862

south was about to lose that argument at Gettysburg and Petersburg, where States Rights, not slavery, was the real issue.

Since the Civil War no Supreme Court decision, to my knowledge, has ever mentioned in any important way Article IX or X of the Federal Constitution, which reserves all undelegated powers to the States, and more importantly, to the people. The original framers considered these Articles of controlling importance and refused to ratify the Constitution until they were included. They would have agreed with Brigham Young.

Brigham Young had received a Federal appointment as Governor in 1850 from Millard Fillmore. In his March speech he attempted to make his acceptance consistent with his stand that the Federal Government had no power to make such an appointment. He said:

When Mr. Fillmore appointed me Governor of Utah, I proclaimed openly that my Priesthood should govern and control that office. I am of the same mind today.*

The revealing March speech shows that elections for this State of Deseret were being held regularly. Even though Fuller was acting Governor under appointment from the President, Brigham Young said:

We have not yet received our election returns; but should I be elected Governor of the State of Deseret, that office shall be sustained and controlled by the power of the eternal Priesthood of the Son of God, or I will walk the office under my feet.*

The election of which Brigham Young spoke left no room for Federal appointees. It included all offices of the "State" down to the lowest local level.**

When Harding arrived, he, like Judges Cradlebaugh, Sinclair, and other Federal appointees, realized that he was not welcome; that his office was already held by Brigham Young, incumbent Governor of the State of Deseret. Under such conflicting circumstances a flareup was inevitable.

One of Harding's first flareups was to pardon the Morrisites who had been convicted and who were in jail. Harding was unlike Dawson in many ways. He was no coward and while flamboyant in his speech, was, nevertheless, intelligent. He, understandably, did not like the Mormons, who considered Brigham Young their Governor. His position was not like Dawson's. Dawson was dependent upon the Salt Lake City Police under Andrew Cunningham, the Sheriff's Office under Robert T. Burton, and the State (Nauvoo) Militia under the direction of Daniel Wells, to maintain law and order. All were loyal to Brigham Young and unfriendly to Dawson. Harding had Connor's soldiers, who were loyal to him and unfriendly to Brigham Young. The pendulum was swinging and Brigham Young's absolute power was about to undergo sharp limitations.

**Journal Discourses*, Mar. 9, 1862

**Leonard Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 1858

The Harding period was one of the bitterest in Utah history. There were frequent mass meetings and petitions seeking his removal. The Utah Militia and the soldiers at Fort Douglas were on edge. Both were spoiling for a showdown. Colonel Conner placed his cannon so they were "zeroed in" on Brigham Young's front door. Daniel Wells and Brigham Young had arranged a bell signal which meant instant mobilization of the Militia if Johnston's soldiers acted overtly—particularly if they attempted to arrest Brigham Young.

During this time large detachments of the Militia were on constant guard duty "guarding the President." In March of 1863, Edward was Captain of the Second Platoon, Company B, Third Brigade, Second Regiment, Second Brigade of Colonel Burton's First Division. During all of that month he and his entire unit were in constant muster "around the clock." Again during October they performed the same function.* This was true of other units. Salt Lake City, during 1863, was composed of two armed camps—ready for war—and Edward was very much involved.

Sometime during this period several members of the band of the Second Brigade of the Third Battalion failed to show for parade—which was held to impress the Fort Douglas troops. They were later court martialed and fined. They did not pay and Edward Ashton sometime later was ordered by Adj. Gen. Franklin Richards to collect. In the only written document I have seen (in his own handwriting), he reported as follows:

Brigadier General Franklin S. Richards
 Sir: Being requested and authorized to collect a number of fines assessed in 3rd Battalion, 2nd Regt. Infantry, By Court Martial Feb. 15th 1866 under Special Order No. 1. Also 3 of Band of 2nd Brigade and pay the same to you. I have to inform you that I have endeavored with the best of my ability to collect the same and make the returns which is as follows, as short as possible.

Co. A. Lt J. B. Meredith. Cannot pay now. thinks that he will sometime. He also thinks that his Business (making) should exempt him from the fine. John Lindsay. Not in the City at the time of Order. Adj. and was not and could not be notified. William Hailstone. Fined 100 lbs of Beef and 20 dollars.

*Military Archives, State Capitol

in groceries to the situation for that campaign and
 is above the age (But does not excuse himself on that
 account) appeared to say at the Court but his name
 was not called, and his Lawyer, Withering, required
 him elsewhere, so ~~for~~ these reasons he claims clear.
 s William H. Parker, 57 years old, liberated from
 the fine by Mag^r J. N. Burton.

C. B. Henry Attley, Detained as Printer of the
 daily Telegraph. Colonel Webber carried a letter
 to the Gen^l of that effect consequently no pay

Band of 4th Brigade

Chas. Munroe He said that he was always
 on hand but that once, he thought all that
 he had satisfied the Court, and would not pay
 but said that he would pay in music sometime

s Daniel Taylor stated that Mr. Captain (C. Thomas)
 liberated him, also said that he was not notified of
 Court Martial, consequently would not pay.

Wm. Cleaves at the Telegraph Office. I called
 there five times but could not see him four
 times. He was not in and the other time he was
 busy that he could not be bothered. In my
 faith was getting rather weak understanding also
 that he is not one of the Band

*I have given her answer in this own
words and the amount collected is 0000*

Edward Ashton

Property of

MILITARY REPORTS DIVISION, ARMY

No. 4756 INDEXED

Edward, like some of his descendants, was a poor collector. His heart wasn't in it. It is even possible that his written reply shows that he considered his errand a bit unnecessary and that he was pleased and amused to note that nothing was accomplished.

In 1861, the Overland Telegraph Line was completed from the States to Great Salt Lake City. Brigham Young sent the first message to J.H. Wade, President of the Company. A few days later the first telegram was sent to San Francisco—also by Brigham Young. This, together with the Pony Express, marked the beginning of a new era. From now on, what occurred in the Territory was known almost immediately both east and west. This meant, inevitably, that outside influence would begin to affect and change the lives of the Pioneers. Resistance to change was futile. Brigham Young was wise enough to see "the handwriting on the wall" and even though he was reaching the evening of his life, responded by participating in the change. He quickly organized a local telegraph company, with himself as President, to spread communication throughout the Territory.

Unfortunately for the Pioneers, the improved communication spread the word about the Dawson affair, the "hushed up" Mountain Meadow tragedy, and the so-called Morrisite Massacre. It, together with the active State of Deseret made early Statehood impossible. In 1863, the Territory of Idaho was created and as a retaliation, a substantial portion of northeastern Utah was included in the new Territory.

It was in this period of bitter feeling and improved communication with the outside world that Emily Treharne Ashton was born. She was the last girl and arrived on February 14, 1864. Earlier, on November 6, 1862, Sarah Jane was born. Thus, before the end of the Civil War, the Ashton family in the Territory consisted of three young boys and three infant daughters ranging in age from ten to infancy! Their father was 40 and their mother 34.

The Ashtons and the other Pioneers in the Territory were fortunate during this period. They escaped the ravages of the Civil War which so impoverished the South. Their sons did not have to go to war; their farms were not ravaged by a destructive army which burned, destroyed and pillaged. Instead, they enjoyed an economic boom—some of it caused by the war. This fact alone created enemies in the government who believed the Mormons should have aided their country during the Civil War.

Emigration, which had been at a standstill since the Utah War, immediately picked up. The new technique was to send wagons East, loaded with supplies. These supplies were sold at high prices. What was not sold was used to supply the new emigrants coming West. The empty wagons provided transportation.

The Perpetual Emigration Fund, which had slipped into "the red," was put into the black. One way this was accomplished was by urging the people to do without luxuries and to contribute the money saved to the Perpetual Emigration Fund. These luxuries consisted of fancy furniture and Eastern clothes. It also consisted of tea, coffee, and tobacco, all of which had been somewhat successfully raised in the Southern settlements.

In April 1863, Brigham Young, addressing the members in the old Tabernacle, said:

I know of no better climate and soil than are here for the successful culture of tobacco. Instead of buying it in a foreign market and importing it over a thousand miles, why not raise it in our own country or do without it . . . Tea is in great demand in Utah, and anything under that name sells readily at an extravagant price . . . Tea can be produced in this territory in sufficient quantities for home consumption, and if we raise it ourselves we know that we have the pure article. If we do not raise it, I would suggest we do without it.

He placed cotton and fancy clothes and furniture in the same category.*

The Civil War ended in the Spring of 1865. On April 12th of that year, Edward Ashton and his wife wrote a joint letter to their sister, Sage Jones, which explains some of the problems of the time and which reveals somewhat the character of Edward and Jane:

April 12, 1865

Dear Sister, we received your letter and many times we have been talking about writing to you but it was all wind until the present. We were very glad to hear from you, but sorry to hear of your sickness and also of your son, Lehi. We hope by this time that you are well and that he is better and that peace and plenty prevail with you in the midst of all your calamities of which you have had a good portion. But, we would say to continue to bear it with patience and strive to preserve your children that they may live and become mighty men and women to help to carry on the great Latter-day work. We are happy to hear that you had plenty to eat and we hope that you may always have plenty. You have stated that you had a hard winter. I can assure you that we saw the hardest winter that we ever had, cattle have suffered greatly between severe frost and snow and thieves. They have gone it steep this winter. Beef is now selling from 25 cents to 30 cents per pound and miserable stuff it surely is at that. Things are very dull here. Not much can be done on account of the cold weather, but we think we shall have an abundant harvest and President Young promised so in the conference so, all is well. You talked of coming up this summer. We would be glad to see you but the journey is long and the

**Journal of Discourses*, Vol. 10, page 226

climate alters. You should be very cautious and not come too early or leave it too late. Our conference is over—we have had good times. Also, (our convention met and agreed to keep their prices as last year). We have no news particular but what we suppose you are familiar with through the newspapers. We had great cannonading here today—rejoicing of the U.S. Troops over the surrender of General Lee to General Grant. The particulars you can read in the news.

Owen and Sarah are well and send their respects, William and his wife also. Give our kind respects to William Leigh and let us know if he is married or not. Tell him that Henry, his brother, is not quite gone. Tell his father that he has been a very good boy—he has not taken up with bad company—he has respected himself as a Latter-day Saint as far as I know. I cannot help saying this for Henry (no flattery). Our respects to his father and mother and please accept the same yourself and family. We are well, thanks to Almighty God.

Ever so, Amen

Signed Edward and Jane Ashton.*

Edward and Jane's letter, besides revealing their loyalty to Brigham Young and their devotion to their religion, demonstrates two particularly interesting things. First, that there was a convention which was an economic body of some sort which existed during the Civil War. I believe this was an interim agency which acted during the Civil War period and which developed into the School of the Prophets created in 1867. Arrington, in his excellent book *Great Basin Kingdom*, wrote: "The Council of Fifty played an important role in shaping Mormon economic policy during the first decade in Utah." He judged that it lost much of its power in the sixties. The discovery of further evidence suggests, however, to recent historians, that the Council of Fifty, contrary to what Arrington thought, continued as a shaper of policy during this period. It is probable it controlled and set up the Convention of which Edward wrote in his 1865 letter.

By the end of 1867, the School of the Prophets began to function in secular matters. It was organized in December 1867. Its membership, unlike the Council of Fifty, was restricted to faithful holders of the Priesthood. According to Arrington, "approximately five thousand priesthood members belonged to the various branch schools." It was an assembly of community leaders "in which theology, Church government, and problems of Church and community were discussed and appropriate action was taken." Edward Ashton was a member of the school.

So far as its secular phase was concerned, the School of the Prophets resembled an economic planning conference. Klaus J. Hansen believes that the Council of Fifty was the architect of the temporal aspects of the school's function. He wrote:

Whether or not the Council (Fifty) had a hand in the planning the other enterprises mentioned above cannot be determined. But, in view of the supervisory capacity of the Council of Fifty, it may safely be assumed that all these activities had the sanction of the organization; in fact, it is highly

*Lehi Willard Jones, by York and Evelyn Jones, pages 32, 33

probable the Council of Fifty organized the School of the Prophets in order to carry out a vast economic program which could not depend for its immediate supervision on a mere fifty men. The existence of other organizations, implementing the orders of the Council, seems only a logical assumption.*

Second, the letter reveals Edward's non-partisan attitude toward the Civil War. He simply notes that "there was great rejoicing by the U.S. Troops over the surrender of General Lee."

This attitude is revealing. Most in the Territory were not in sympathy with either side. It was not their war. Charlie Walker, in 1861, expressed in his diary the opinion of many, including Brigham Young, when he wrote:

The Virginians are preparing to seize the capital at Washington, and where it will end they know not, but the Saints know and understand it all . . . Bro. Brigham spoke of the things in the East, said he hoped they would both gain the victory, said he had as much sympathy for them as the God's and Angels had for the Devils in Hell.**

This again reveals Brigham Young's attitude toward the Federal Government. He recognized it no more than he did the Confederacy. In his March 1862 speech, he referred to the North and South as two governments. He said:

When the Southern revolt transpired it was asked of him (a certain gentleman) where is the Union now? There are now two governments instead of one.

Brigham Young then reassured the people and in effect told them not to worry about which government should control, because he said:

The Kingdom of God has sustained me a good while, and I mean to stick to it. We will form a State Government, and you need not fear any consequences may arise from such a course. You may tell your neighbors that in this step we do not violate any law, nor in the least transcend the bounds of our rights. If we do not do this, we are living beneath those rights set forth in the Declaration of Independence, and the privileges granted to us in the Constitution of the United States which our fathers bought so dearly for us. Let us unfurl the stars and stripes, the flag of our country. Let us sustain the Constitution that our fathers have bequeathed to us in letters of blood.***

It thus appears clear that Mormon Patriotism as expressed by Brigham Young in 1862, was limited to the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence and "our country." There was no allegiance to the Federal Government which had, in Brigham

*Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire*, pages 143-5

***Diary of Charles Walker*, Apr. 28, 1861

****Journal of Discourses*, Mar. 1862

Young's mind, unconstitutionally usurped the power to govern the Pioneers. There really existed in the Territory a state of rebellion against the Federal Government. There was an active struggle for power. The Kingdom of God vs. The Federal Government. The State of Deseret vs. The Territorial Government.

Brigham Young, in his March speech, finally threw down the gauntlet. He warned:

If any among this community want to sustain the government of the Devil (who but the Federal Government) in preference to the Kingdom of God, I wish them to go where they belong.*

At the time the Edward and Jane letter was written, Sage Treharne Jones was a widow, her husband having died September 2, 1862. She had six children, Lehi the oldest, being eight. He was one year older than Edward and Jane's oldest, Edward T. Ashton.

In 1865, Sage decided to visit Salt Lake City with her six small children. The following is taken from the book written by York F. and Evelyn K. Jones:

Sage was an independent woman and she was determined to give her children all the advantages that could be had. Almost two years after Thomas died she decided to take her young family there . . . She was anxious to make a good impression on her friends and all the people who knew her along the way. She worked very hard to make new clothing for all the children before they left. She even made hats for the boys out of round pieces of felt, flared out at the bottom and pointed at the top. A trip to Salt Lake City by wagon was a tremendous undertaking for a woman alone, and six small children . . .

Sage was acquainted with many people in the settlements in Utah and she had no trouble finding families to stay with each night. A trip such as this took several weeks . . .

Lehi was approximately ten years old and was able to handle the team very well. He did a good part of the driving while his mother was busy with the rest of the children. The youngest of whom, the twins, were about three years old. The first day they stopped at Parowan at the home of Sister Richards, a friend. There Sage lined the children up according to age to show them off . . . The next stop was at Beaver, followed by nearly every town along the way. After the first stop the children knew what was expected of them, and automatically lined up at each house they visited . . . At the time, they felt they looked real grand in their new clothing, but later he (Lehi) realized that they looked pretty 'tough' in their homemade outfits . . . She (Sage) was never ashamed of how little they had, she taught them to be proud of their names and heritage.⁶

As part of his duties, or because of his interest in athletics, or both, Edward taught the boys to swim. This is reported as follows:

**Journal of Discourses*, Mar. 2, 1862

Every boy in the Ward had to learn to swim . . . The beginning lessons were given by Edward Ashton . . . in the adobe yard of a Saturday afternoon. First the earth was dug out to leave a large hole in which the water rose to a comfortable and not too dangerous height.

When the boys had learned to handle themselves in this pool they went to a deeper height.

When the boys had learned to handle themselves in this pool they went to a deeper hole between 6th and 7th West Streets. Having mastered this, they moved to a yet deeper one on 8th West. Following this they were ready for the Jordan River.* (Note that girls were not invited or even considered. The world has changed)

The books which were used in the school attended by the young Ashtons included religious books—those of their own faith. These were the *Bible*, *Book of Mormon*, *Doctrine and Covenants*, and *The Pearl of Great Price*. The early schools were partly supported by Federal funds which, understandably, annoyed the very few non-Mormons who were in the Territory at the time. This was especially true of books using the Deseret alphabet.

In *History of Utah*, Andrew L. Neff, the writer, reports the following:

A beginner's reader in the much-vaunted Deseret Alphabet came from the press in 1868. This thirty-six page text contained easy graded sentences, and was illuminated, like present-day compilations, with pictures. Subsequently, a volume appeared for maturer students.

The misguided infatuation of Mormondom's leaders for the freakish scheme led them into deeper error. The school system of the Territory was to be perverted from service to the commonality of its citizenry to the furtherance of the sectarian ambitions of a dominating group. President Brigham Young outlined the plan in a letter to Albert Carrington, England, dated December 9, 1868: 'The school trustees throughout the Territory manifest considerable interest in introducing the books printed in the Deseret Alphabet. Elder Orson Pratt is at present engaged in getting out the Book of Mormon in that alphabet; it will be divided into three parts, to take the place of the readers generally used in our schools. I expect that Elder Pratt will go East next season, to superintend the printing and publishing of this work.' Yet Young did not favor the complete abrogation of the old system, judging by his address to the Relief Society of the Fifteenth Ward, February 4, 1869, wherein he advised this organization to look after the education of their children, 'and I recommend the introduction into their schools of the Deseret Alphabet; not that the old method may be thrown away or discarded, but as a means of facilitating the progress of the children in their studies.'

The new alphabet was also to be introduced into the Mormon Sabbath Schools and this, mark, at the expense of the Territory. This is made clear in the letter of George Goddard to Franklin D. Richards, England, February 12, 1868, an excerpt of which is as follows:

**Journal of Discourses*, Mar. 2, 1862

'President Young strongly advocated the general introduction of the Deseret Alphabet, and that the same be taught throughout the Territory in all our Sabbath Schools; said the Regency would be instructed to send for new type of the same, and have thousands and tens of thousands of small interesting books published to be disseminated through our Sunday Schools, which, by-the-by, are established in nearly every Settlement throughout the Territory; and all who were willing to aid him in this important undertaking, were asked to uplift their right hand. When every Bishop, Councillor, Teacher and Elder present raised their hands he then said, 'God bless you brethren.'*

Children taught in this manner probably had little difficulty with their religious beliefs. They were not exposed to two schools of thought except on a "pro" and "anti" basis. The young Ashtons were inescapable products of this isolated and restricted environment. At this early age, their intellectual curiosity operated in a limited sphere. While it certainly had its disadvantages, it had its virtues. They knew what they were supposed to do. They knew what they were supposed to believe. They knew where they were going. And they were happy. The confusion and frustration which confronts the modern generation did not beset them.

When they did have religious arguments, it was limited to Latter-day Saint Church doctrine. Thus, Lehi, Sage's son, who was also a product of the age, recalled an incident at Kanarraville where, during a storm, he and his mother and the Davis family had an extended argument during the night. It lasted until one o'clock in the morning. No one could go to bed until it was over because the Davis dwelling consisted of one large room. The argument concerned the three degrees of glory in Mormon doctrine. Lehi observed that "he thought their time would have been much better spent shoveling the sand (which had blown around the house) and worrying about the present instead of becoming so involved in talking about what was going to happen in the next world."**

The world of reality was very much with the Pioneers. They had to deal with it in the present and had little time for speculating about abstract notions. Their children, raised and taught in this environment, grew up to be very practical people. They, like the early Puritans, looked upon idleness and waste as sins. They were typical of their time. This early crop produced no theoretical philosophers, very few writers, and even fewer poets. It also produced only a handful of lawyers and doctors. It did produce, on the other hand, outstanding builders, business men, colonizers, and religious leaders. It was a practical age, a more contented and happier one than the confused one of the Twentieth Century.

* Andrew Love Neff, *History of Utah*, pages 853-854

** York F. and Evelyn K. Jones *Lehi Willard Jones*.

Notes to Chapter Twenty-Six

¹Sidney Albert Johnston was highly regarded in military circles. He was a graduate of West Point. Johnston was never very proud of his military career in the Utah Territory. President Jefferson Davis placed him in overall command of the Army in the west, Davis judged him as "perhaps the ablest of all the professional soldiers who had joined the Confederacy." (*The Civil War*. Richard R. Ketchum, Editor in Charge). Unfortunately for the south, Johnston was wounded in the leg during the Peach Orchard assault at Shiloh. He bled to death from his wound. (Battle of Shiloh, 1862).

²The stores at Camp Floyd (Crittenton) were sold . . . with immense profits to the Saints; iron which had retailed at a dollar per pound, became as plentiful as in the east, and Brigham Young, the Walker Brothers and other firms bought immense quantities of pork at one cent per pound, which they afterwards sold at sixty . . . Brigham Young borrowed \$30,000 of Ronsohoff to invest in army pork.

Beadle, J.H. "*Life in Utah*—quoted in *History of Utah*, Andrew L. Neff. N.S. Ronsohoff remained Brigham Young's friend, and in later years did not suffer as much as other non-Mormon merchants because of the Mormon monopoly. Note that it was pork which Ronsohoff loaned Brigham money to purchase. Pork was "off limits" to him.

³Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, page 248.

⁴Kelly and Birney, *Holy Murder*, page 207.

⁵Kelly and Birney, *Holy Murder*, page 214. Kelly and Birney fail to give authority for this conclusion. It is a fact that Andrew Cunningham, William Kimball, and Lot Smith were members of the posse. *Deseret News* report of trial—February 1877.

⁶Lehi Jones became one of the great leaders in Southern Utah. He became Stake President at an early age; was President of the bank. He and his brothers operated the largest cattle ranch in Southern Utah and Northern Arizona. His brothers, Uriah and Kumen, accomplished just as much. Uriah was President of the Stake and the Bank. Warren Bullock: "Utah never produced a greater man." Kumen was the Scout who moved ahead of the Mormon "hole in the rock" settlement. Judge Fred Keller—"The greatest man in the history of Southeastern Utah."

(GENERAL NOTE)

Robert T. Burton was tried for murder as a result of the Morrisite affair. The trial occurred in February 1879. He was acquitted. *The Deseret News* of that period carried a complete description and transcript of the trial. Young Edward T. Ashton, who was 24 years old at the time, records in his Journals that he was an interested spectator. (Also note from Burton's Journal).

Chapter Twenty-Seven

End of Era 1865-1880

The late 1860's and early 1870's marked the beginning of a vast development in mining, railroading, and commerce. While Brigham Young left mining to others, he and some of the temporal leaders participated vigorously in the building of railroads and the expansion of commerce. The most significant commercial development was the organization of Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution. This was accomplished in 1868-69-70. The development of this Institution reveals clearly that the early Mormon society was much more than a religious sect—it was a religious—social—economic society. Its early leaders intended it to be politically self-governing and economically self-sustaining.

Prior to the development of the ZCMI most trade in the community was conducted by barter, i.e., potatoes for shoes, etc. The Mormon people had very little money at this time. They had even tried making their own. With the development of the railroads, manufactured goods and supplies from the East became more available. Manufactured shoes soon eliminated the hand made product. Edward, as one of this class, in his later years found little to do—except mend. With the supplies came merchants. Brigham Young was not about to let these “gentiles” control this important aspect of the economy. So he told William Jennings, J.M. Bernheisel, George Q. Cannon, William H. Hooper, William Clayton, and H.S. Eldredge, all Fifties, to organize a cooperative to handle merchandising in the Territory. When they asked, “But how?” he replied, “Go to work and do it.” They did. Jennings sold his business in the Eagle Emporium and transferred it for \$200,000 to the new co-op. Eldredge and Hooper also sold and transferred their interests and the new enterprise was launched. Brigham Young was elected President, J.M. Bernheisel, Vice-President, and William Clayton, Secretary.*

* Edward W. Tullidge, History of Utah, pages 384-389

The others were named Directors. Brigham Young's son-in-law, H.B. Clawson, became Superintendent.

Naturally, the Mormon people encouraged to do so, traded at the co-op and not with the non-Mormons. These merchants, with the exception of Brigham's old Jewish friend Ransohoff, found the monopolistic competition more than they could handle. Many of these failed and left the Territory. It was not until many years later that non-Mormon merchants were able to compete.

Brigham Young's action in forming the ZCMI and despotically instructing the members to do all their trading at that Institution, was necessary if his people were to maintain their own economy.¹ With very little money they were in no position to compete with Eastern merchants. They had to cooperate and support their own Institution. With this kind of cooperation the ZCMI soon became the largest mercantile institution in the Western United States. It even expanded by forming branch stores in most of the settlements and in some of the Wards—including the Fifteenth—where the Ashton family undoubtedly did its shopping. Many years later, when Edward Ashton's oldest son, Edward T., was Bishop of that Ward, he became President of the Fifteenth Ward Co-op, then known as the Western Co-op.*

Brigham Young was just as vigorous in the development of railroads. When the Union Pacific was organized, he became a stockholder and during the construction period a chief contractor. He associated John Sharp as his principal sub-contractor. Also associated was Joseph A. Young.** Together they employed about 600 men. There were also numerous other sub-contractors working under Brigham Young. When the railroads from east and west joined, Brigham Young immediately made plans to construct a line from Ogden to Salt Lake City. This became known as the Utah Central Railroad. Most of the money for its construction came from \$600,000 worth of U.P. stock which Brigham Young got from the Union Pacific.**

On January 10, 1870, the last rail was laid at Salt Lake City. Present on the platform at the spike driving ceremony, which drew a crowd of 15,000 people, were: Brigham Young, President; William Jennings, Vice-President; Daniel Wells, Christopher Layton² and Feramor Little, Directors; Joseph A. Young, General Superintendent; and John W. Young, Secretary. All but Layton were Fifties.

The last spike was forged of Utah iron, manufactured ten years before by the late Nathaniel V. Jones, who was the second Bishop of the Fifteenth Ward, serving from 1853 until 1856. He was a First Lieutenant, Cavalry, Nauvoo Legion and was with Edward Ashton at Fort Lemhi.** Bishop Cunningham was a very good friend of the Ashtons.

There were other railroads which were eminently home enterprises. One was the Utah Northern. A prominent part was played by John W. Young, a brother of Joseph. They also were active in the building of the Southern and Western Railroads. Both were Fifties.³

Mining was a different story. General Connor's soldiers at Fort Douglas, with very little to do and with the encouragement of Connor, were the first prospectors. More importantly, Brigham Young did not want his followers leaving their farms and local

*Mary Barclough, *Fifteenth Ward Memories*, page 50

**Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, page 71-1

industry in pursuit of gold. When the excitement of the early discoveries by Connor's men became known, Brigham Young advised his people as follows:

The man who is faithful to his calling and to this holy Priesthood, never goes hunting for gold or silver unless he is sent. Such men are found following their legitimate pursuits working in the fields, in their workshops and gardens, making beautiful their habitations; in other words, engaged in building up and assisting to establish the Zion of God on the earth, with their minds centered on the true riches and not upon the things of this world.*

Porter Rockwell was not anxious to follow this kind of advice. His adventuresome spirit had caused him to follow the prospectors; in fact at this time Porter became very friendly with General Connor—almost switching his devoted allegiance from Brigham Young to the General.** Brigham Young, in 1877, publicly chided Porter about his prospecting ventures, saying:

When General Connor came here he did considerable prospecting; and in hunting through the Cottonwoods he had an inkling that there was gold there. Porter, as we generally call him, came to me one day saying, 'They have struck within four inches of my lode, what shall I do?' . . . I told him to go with the other brethren interested and make his claim . . . I said to him, Porter, you ought to know better . . . I want to tell you one thing; they may strike within four inches of that hole as many times as they have a mind to, and they will not find it. They hunted and hunted, hundreds of them did; and I had the pleasure of laughing at him a little, for when he went there again, he could not find it himself.**

There was a note of derision in Brigham Young's remarks. His public ridicule of Porter showed that the relationship between the two men had deteriorated.

Certainly, the young Ashtons, Edward, Jed, and Brig, together with their father, continued, as Brother Brigham had advised, following their "legitimate pursuits, working in the fields, in their workshops and gardens." They left prospecting to others. Edward T., the oldest son, in later years built mills and power plants for those who did mine. However, that is another story.

I believe that Brigham Young neglected mining and advised his people against becoming involved because he misjudged its importance. Commerce and industry he understood. Mining he did not. Furthermore, General Connor had stolen the stage—It was he and his idle soldiers who made the first discoveries. Was Brigham a little jealous? He always "pooh poohed" mining. When Ralph Waldo Emerson visited in 1871, Mr. Thayer, who recorded the incident noted:

Much excitement was existing just then about newly discovered mines in Utah. He (Brigham) intimated that he cared little about them, and did not expect much from them.

*Journal of Discourses, Vol. 19, page 39

** Life of Colonel Patrick E. Conner,

Brigham, was, of course, dead wrong. Mining in Utah has produced more wealth than commerce and industry combined. Unfortunately, because of Brigham Young's advice and policy, most all the money earned was by non-Mormons from outside the State. They gutted Utah's treasures for their own benefit and most of them took it out of the State to their own homes. It is one of Utah's tragedies.

Perhaps Brigham Young's judgment was influenced by the failure of the Cedar City Iron Works. The mines which supplied that plant were abandoned and revived only in the last forty years to produce iron for the Geneva Plant.

When I drive along South Temple in Salt Lake City and admire the great mansions, all built for non-Mormons who made great fortunes from Utah mines—and with Utah labor, I am saddened that the hard working, knowledgeable Mormon craftsmen and developers were mistakenly denied the privilege of participating in the wealth of Utah's greatest economic treasure—leaving it sometimes to less deserving and often less capable men.

1870 marked the beginning of the end of an era. This could be called the Brigham Young Era. Edward and Jane, while younger than their leader, were about to enter the evening of their lives. From this point on their futures were in their very active children whose developing characters gives some insight into the character of their parents—perhaps the best indication of all.

On July 27, 1870, the last child, George Savage Ashton, was born. There were six years between George and his sister Emily. At this time Edward was 49 and Jane 42. The oldest boy, Edward Treharne, was 15.

The complexion of the Territory in 1870 was interesting. The population had grown from 11,380 in 1850 to 86,786 in 1870. Even in 1870 non-Mormons did not exceed 5% of the population. In the general election of that year the People's party, which was almost entirely Mormon, polled 21,656 votes, whereas the Liberal party, almost all non-Mormon, polled 1,444 votes.

There were 1,783 Welshmen in the Territory, mostly in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Wards. A few were in Spanish Fork and Wales, Utah. Some were in the northern portion of the Territory. To make a comparison, there were no Welshmen in Oregon, even though Oregon had approximately the same number of people as the Utah Territory. Whereas, 35 % of Utah inhabitants were foreign born, Oregon had only 12 %.* This large percentage of foreign born was used by Mormon enemies to show the Territory's lack of fitness for statehood. It was claimed by non-Mormons that these aliens, brought into Utah by missionary efforts, had little opportunity to become acquainted with "the American way of life." Edward and Jane were amongst this alien group. Even though they were not American-born, they probably loved freedom and basic ideals of "the American way of life" quite as much as the native born. Perhaps they appreciated them more.

Prior to 1870, General Rawlins, Secretary of War, visited Utah. The South was enduring its Reconstruction Period. Rawlins thought Utah needed the same treatment. He therefore selected from amongst his old war comrades General "Wils" Shaffer, a feisty Illinois Mormon hater. Rawlins, on his deathbed, committed President Grant to appoint "Wils" Governor of Utah, to conquer Brigham Young. After Rawlins' death, and on the resignation of Governor Durkee, President Grant kept his promise.

*U.S. Census, 1870

Shaffer knew he himself was gradually dying of consumption—that a few months, at most, must close his career. He nevertheless accepted the assignment “as a post of honor, as a trust from the President of the United States, and as a legacy from his dead patron and comrade.” He vowed to execute his mission before his death, and to make himself in fact the Governor of Utah “if he had to do it by the sword.” “Never after me”, said he, “by God! shall it be said that Brigham Young is Governor of Utah.” As things turned out, he was right.*

Governor Shaffer arrived in Utah in the latter part of March, 1870. While at Washington he personally charged Utah’s Delegates Hooper and The Honorable Tom Fitch, the member from Nevada, with betraying both himself and the Government in the signing of The Utah Female Suffrage Bill.⁴ When he reached the Territory he was still furious because this bill had been enacted into law. The Cullom Bill, dealing with polygamy, had also just been enacted, so that when the new Governor arrived he was faced with mass meetings of protest.

Interestingly enough, Shaffer, after being advised of conditions by The Godbeites and others, elected not to fight polygamy.** Instead, he resolved “to make himself Governor of Utah in fact and the Commander-in-Chief of the Militia.” As a military man he realized that he could not be Governor in fact unless he also commanded the Nauvoo Legion. From this point on, during his brief career as Governor, he directed all his efforts against General Daniel H. Wells and the Legion. Shaffer soon realized that he could not replace General Wells, so he decided to eliminate that which he could not command.

One of the first steps taken was to request President Grant to send to Utah another Army and to re-establish another military post.*** Once again the often called Utah Militia was placed on the alert. Edward Ashton, as ordered, called up his men, paraded a little and made a show of force.

All during this period the Militia’s cavalry horses were kept “over the river,” and on Church Island (Antelope). Boys in the Fifteenth Ward were often called by Major General Robert T. Burton, who was now Bishop of that Ward, to care for these animals. The young Ashtons took their turn. While Edward’s young son, Edward T., together with other boys, were performing these duties, they were pursued by a party of raiding Indians. Young Edward T. was shot with an arrow through the upper part of his thigh. He carried the scar the remainder of his life.⁵

The new Federal Army was stationed at Provo on the east shore of Utah Lake. At about this same time General William T. Sherman, of Civil War fame, an emissary of President Grant, visited the Territory. Fortunately for the Pioneers, he visited at a favorable time of the year and sent back glowing reports of the industry and thrift of the people.

Governor Shaffer was by now desperately ill. He resolved, however, before his death, to carry out his resolve. On August 16th, 1870, General Daniel Wells issued General Order No. 1, which called all the Legion to General Muster. Robert T. Burton, who was now a Major General, commanded the 1st Division of the Nauvoo Legion, Salt

*Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, pages 479-80

**J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah, 1870*, page 551

***Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, page 48

Lake Military District. Within a month Shaffer reacted by appointing P.E. Connor, of mining fame, Major General, to replace Daniel Wells. On the same day Shaffer issued an order prohibiting all musters, drills or gathering of the Militia of The Territory of Utah, except on his orders. He further ordered that all arms and ammunition in the possession of The Legion belonging to the Federal Government immediately be turned over and he directed General Connor to carry out the order.⁶

There then ensued a great public debate about the right of Governor Shaffer to proceed as he had done. It resulted, however, in little more than debate. The Legion was doomed. On November 12th, 1870, Lieutenant General D. H. Wells issued a tersely worded General Order which sounded the death knell as follows:

1. So far as the general musters in various military districts have not already been held, as contemplated in General Orders, No. 1, of August 16th, 1870, they are hereby postponed until further orders.

Tullidge, in his *History of Salt Lake City*, wrote:

Thus was suspended that famous Nauvoo Legion which, in 1857-58 stood against the army of the United States. At the time of this occurrence it numbered about thirteen thousand men, who were well armed and equipped, and well drilled. First organized by 'Joseph Smith, the Prophet,' to whom it owes its name, it was subsequently brought into this Territory to a condition of great efficiency by General Wells. Brigham Young was the second Lieutenant General of the Legion, but, after he had sufficiently filled the calling of a prophet-general, in leading his 'Latter day Israel' to the Rocky Mountains, he resigned, and Daniel H. Wells succeeded him. Under this thoroughly military type of man the Legion was perfected, having at the time of its suspension, two major-generals, nine brigadier-generals, and twenty-five colonels, with their respective staffs.*

The termination of the Nauvoo Legion ended any hope for an independent government. The Kingdom of God as a hopefully political entity, died with the Legion.

Following the death of the Legion and The Kingdom, Senator Benjamin Franklin Wade, of Ohio, then proposed laws in the Congress to abolish the Militia in the Territory, except as it was under the direction of the Territorial Governor. One of the provisions prohibited aliens from being mustered into the Militia. This would, of course, have eliminated many of the Militia officers, including Edward Ashton. These bills never passed and had they been enacted would have raised serious Constitutional questions.

On November 21, 1870, The Wooden Gun Rebellion occurred. On that day certain of the officers of companies and regiments, without the express action of their commanding officers (so as to avoid violating Shaffer's order) mustered for a sort of unofficial "re-union" of their companies. This was proposed in the absence of the regular yearly muster. Edward's group met in the Fifteenth Ward. The band of the 3rd

*Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, page 489

Regiment had just received some new instruments from the East; and the musicians had invited the citizen soldiers of their units to meet at the Twentieth Ward School House. The news was heard "down town" and immediately two deputy marshals were hastened to the scene "of the rebellion." The high officers of the Regiment were arrested and charged with treason. The case was heard before the Third Judicial District Court, Judge Hawley presiding. He referred the matter to the Grand Jury on charges of rebellion. The Grand Jury refused to indict.

In 1871, the Legion made preparations for one final display of strength. The occasion was the 4th of July celebration of that year. For a few years prior to this time the Mormon and non-Mormon residents of the City had vied with one another in parade maneuvers and displays. In 1871, because of the anti-Mormon bitterness which had developed, the competition was anything but friendly.

On July 22nd, Daniel H. Wells issued the following parade order:

Adjutant General's Office, Salt Lake City
June 22nd 1871

Special Order No. 1.

1. The committee of arrangements appointed by the corporate authorities of the city, having asked for a detachment of the Territorial Militia, with bands of music, to aid in the celebration, on the 4th proximo, of the 95th anniversary of our Nation's independence, it is hereby ordered as follows:

2. The Commandant of Salt Lake Military District will detail from his district

The martial and brass bands under their respective leaders.

One company of artillery with ordinance to fire salutes, etc.

One company of cavalry.

Three companies of infantry.

3. The detail will perform such service during the day as may be assigned by the committee or arrangements.

4. Good order is strictly enjoined. No fast riding is allowed within the city limits.

By order of Lieut. Gen. Daniel H. Wells.
H. B. Clawson, Adjutant General.*

The Mayor made the mistake of identifying himself as Lieutenant General and H. B. Clawson as Adjutant General. The then acting Governor, George A. Black, was furious. He immediately issued a proclamation strictly forbidding the Nauvoo Legion from parading and on the 4th of July, ordered out General De Troibriand from Provo with his regular army troops, under orders to fire on the companies of the Nauvoo Legion if they attempted to form in the parade procession as ordered by Lieutenant General Daniel H. Wells.

Fortunately, the Pioneers had more sense than the acting Governor. Their Militia did not parade, and Brigham Young was conspicuously absent from the festivities. His place was taken by Daniel H. Wells, but acting only in his capacity as Mayor of Salt Lake City.

*Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, page 502

It was, therefore, a sad and grim ex-Militia Captain, who, along with his young Ashton family, watched from the sidelines as the 13th United States infantry and its band paraded past. This was the first time that the Nauvoo Legion had not held the spotlight on a parade occasion. The Ashtons, as they watched, saw symbols of the new age and of things to come. In the non-Mormon contingent of the parade were six wagons containing ore, three containing bullion, a railroad car containing a bevy of young ladies, some of questionable fame, and large receiving and distributing vans, representing the non-Mormon mercantile interests.

Following the ceremony, Edward Ashton, like many of the Pioneers in the Territory, finally packed away his Army uniform. His military career was now behind him. In many respects it was uniquely interesting. As a Welsh emigrant he had become a Territorial Soldier of the United States with only one purpose—to serve the Leaders of his Church. To him there was only one kingdom to which he owed allegiance. This was frequently referred to by him and his Welsh friends as “The Kingdom of God.” That kingdom in the Territory was ruled by Brigham Young—no one else. At any time Edward would have responded to a call to arms to fight any power which challenged that kingdom—including the United States Army. Yet, strangely and ironically, Edward, as an officer in the Utah Militia, carried arms supplied by the United States Government, and on occasions received Federal pay. It is doubtful that he ever considered himself a United States army officer, except in a nominal sense.

In the spring of 1871, Ralph Waldo Emerson, whose writing was greatly admired by Edward Ashton⁷ visited the City. The description of Brigham Young, written by Mr. Thayer who accompanied Emerson during the visit, is revealing:

The President (who was then 70 years of age) soon entered the room arrayed for his drive, his long cloak on, and his hat in hand. He was a man of not over medium height, full blooded, and with the look of some stout stage driver who had prospered and been used to authority. His face was smooth except for whiskers of a reddish cast touched with gray. His hair, rather thick and of a like color, seemed wet and was parted behind and brushed or rather rolled up on the top, in a cheap way that one might see on a teamster at a ball, or on a teamster's child that had just left the hands of its mother . . . His nose was somewhat aquiline, his eyes quiet but cunning, his manner good and steady.

Later, while leaving the City by train and while rounding the northern part of the Great Salt Lake on the way to San Francisco, Emerson, who did not believe in denominational religion, in response to questions put by one of the ladies on the train, said:

Emerson: ‘Well, what are you going to do about this beauty (Lake and Mountains).’

Lady: ‘You say somewhere that it is better to die for beauty than to live for bread.’

At which he (Emerson) murmured a little, good naturedly, and was silent. Then he began to talk of the Mormons. A passenger said, ‘They impress the common people, through their imagination, by *Bible* names and imagery.’

Yes, Emerson said, 'it is an afterclap of Puritanism. But one would think that after this Father Abraham could go no further.

Some of the early leaders were descendants of Puritans, and in truth early Mormonism did have aspects which resemble the discipline, thrift and energy of the early Puritans; also, some of their intolerance.

The period from 1871 to 1877 was, in many ways, tragic and sad for the Mormon Pioneers. Brigham Young and his friends were no longer young. Even though they had accomplished miracles by their faith and industry, and had created a stronghold of Mormon culture in "the midst of the Rocky Mountains," they were now to be attacked and villified by a pack of men whose only strength was the force of the United States Government behind them. Edward and his family for the next six years endured the spectacle of a great man and his closest leaders brought to bay by men who were often without talent, but who, because of their positions, were able to humiliate men far greater than themselves.

One of the most miserable of all was James B. McKean, Chief Justice of the Territory, an appointee of President Ulysses S. Grant, who, at this time, was himself no friend of the Mormons. McKean's judicial tenure from 1870 to 1875 was so extraordinary that some American Journalists likened him to the notorious Justice Jeffries of England and Wales, who served during the reign of James the Sixth.

McKean's first tragic and humiliating act was in causing the arrest of Brigham Young and Daniel Wells for the offense of adultery. This so enraged the Pioneers that if Brigham Young or Daniel Wells had given the word the suspended Nauvoo Legion would have been in arms and the guns and bayonets of the few Federal soldiers at Fort Douglas and Provo would have been tragically silenced and suppressed. McKean must have trusted more to the good judgment of Brigham Young and Daniel Wells than to his own, or perhaps he ignorantly failed to realize on what dangerous ground he stood.

Marshal Patrick, who was the officer appointed to arrest Brigham Young, did his duty in a delicate manner. Instead of placing Brigham Young in custody, he left a deputy at his "prisoner's" residence. This was little more than a gesture, the Deputy being in reality treated as a guest. The excuse given by the Marshal was that Brigham Young's health prevented his leaving his house. Actually, Brigham was growing feeble, and his eyesight had so far deteriorated he needed someone in constant attendance.

Daniel Wells, whose health was still good, appeared in court as ordered where his bail was set at \$5,000.

In a few days, Edward's employer, George Q. Cannon, was also arrested on the same charge. The press in the country carried blazing headlines. *The New York Herald* on Sunday, Oct. 1st, read:

BRIGHAM YOUNG HAS BEEN INDICTED.

Other headlines in the country were:

THE MORMONS ARE ARMING

EXCITEMENT AMONG THE SAINTS

OPEN RESISTANCE TO LAWS

Thus, the "little man" McKean, with absolutely no sense of proportion, had thrust himself onto the national stage in the company of men who were much more important. He enjoyed himself for a brief spell, at their expense. In the end he was his own victim.

On the afternoon of the appointed day for Brigham Young's trial, a number of carriages were drawn briskly down the State Road from the President's office. They quickly turned the corner into Second South toward's Faust's Hall, where court was to be held. In the carriages were Brigham Young, John Taylor, George A. Smith, Daniel H. Wells (all Fifties), and other representative Mormons. Conspicuously present was a large escort of picked men who were chosen from "those trusted by Brother Brigham." They were not in uniform but were secretly armed. Their purpose was not to guard Brother Brigham. More importantly, they were there to protect the court against its own folly. At any moment the angry Mormons who surrounded the courthouse could have turned into a seething mob.

Edward Ashton, as a former Captain of the Legion, as an employee of George Q. Cannon, as a former employee of John Taylor, and also as "one trusted by Brother Brigham," may have been one of the armed "escorts." If he was he watched an interesting scene. The despicable little McKean kept Brigham Young and his entourage waiting in the courtroom for forty-five minutes before making his appearance. When he did so even the non-Mormons saw in the two men the great disparity which existed. One was a great man, who, with a fine sense of the dramatic, dominated, even as an accused, the entire scene.

After McKean had ruled against the motion to quash made by Brigham Young's lawyers, *The Union Vedette*, the non-Mormon Army newspaper, printed the following:

It is evident that President Young's thus coming into court, and his resolution to abide every trial, and contest the charges brought against him, constitutionally through his counsel, was the very wisest course he could have taken. It will divide the people in his favor and bring many of the gentiles to the help of Israel even as it has already brought two of their lawyers to the defense of the prophet. Perhaps there was more respect and sympathy felt for Brigham Young, when he left the courtroom, feeble and tottering from his recent illness, having respectfully sat in the presence of his judge for three-quarters of an hour after bail had been taken, than ever there was before in the minds of the same men.*

At this moment in Utah's history an event occurred which, while tragic in its nature, indirectly benefited the Mormon people. This was the great Chicago fire. Daniel Wells, Mayor of the City, even though under Federal indictment, immediately issued a proclamation calling for a mass meeting to take subscriptions for the "relief of our fellow citizens who are sufferers by this dreadful visitation."

The meeting was held in the old tabernacle. Mayor Wells presided and Edward's employer, George Q. Cannon, who was also under indictment, was appointed Secret-

**Union Vidette*, Oct. 10, 1871, Editorials in *Tribune* of same date were favorable to Brigham Young

ary. A committee was formed and subscriptions taken. Brigham Young gave \$1,000, Daniel Wells \$500, and William Jennings \$500. A noted lecturer, Grace Greenwood, who was visiting in the City, agreed to give a benefit lecture. This accounted for an additional \$300. All in all, \$20,000 was raised. This caused a reporter for the *New York Herald*, a Mrs. Lippincott, to telegraph her paper as follows:

In the old tabernacle yesterday, we attended a mass meeting, called by the Mayor, to raise money for the relief of the Chicago sufferers. Here we saw Brigham Young, and I must confess to a great surprise.

I had heard many descriptions of his personal appearance, but could not recognize the picture so often and elaborately painted. I did not see a common, gross looking person, with rude manners and a sinister, sensual countenance, but a well dressed, dignified old gentleman, with a pale, mild face, a clear grey eye, a pleasant smile, a courteous address, and withall a patriarchal, paternal air, which of course, he comes rightly by. In short, I could see in his face or manner none of the profligate propensities, and the dark crimes charged against this mysterious, masterly, many-sided and many-wived man. The majority of the citizens of Salt Lake present on this occasion were Mormons, some of them the very polygamists arraigned for trial, and it was a strange thing to see these men standing at bay, with the people of the United States against them, giving generously to their enemies...

There is to me, I must acknowledge, in this prompt and liberal action of the Mormon people, something strange and touching. It is Hagar ministering to Sarah; it is Ishmael giving a brotherly lift to Isaac.*

The reaction in the country was immediate. Many began to see the hated Mormons in a new light. McKean was placed in a position where he had to proceed more cautiously. His next major move was to cause an indictment to issue against Daniel H. Wells, Hosea Stout, and William H. Kimball, Edward Ashton's commanding officer in the Walkara War. This indictment was for the murder of Richard Yates, who had been killed by Bill Hickman at the mouth of Echo Canyon during the Utah War. The indictment was based on the unsupported confession of the notorious Hickman who had implicated the defendants after receiving a promise of immunity from all of his confessed crimes.

When Daniel Wells was brought into court his counsel was Mr. Thomas Fitch, former Congressman from Nevada.⁸ Fitch requested the court to set bail. Usually one charged with murder, a capital offense, is not eligible for bail. McKean, however, who was now aware that because of the Chicago fire donations public opinion had shifted, carefully released the Mayor on a bail of \$50,000. This astonished the whole City and eased the tension which existed. Again "the escort" was not called upon to maintain order.

In the meantime, indictments had been issued against Brigham Young and Porter Rockwell for murder. These indictments, like the Daniel Wells indictments, arose

**New York Herald*, Oct. 12, 1871

largely from the confessions of Hickman. They were returned by carefully selected Grand Jurors who consisted of those who, under oath, declared that they were not living in polygamy, nor did they subscribe to that patriarchal teaching. This, of course, meant that these 1870 Grand Jurors who indicted were anti-Mormon.

Brigham Young's case was finally set for trial in 1872. About this time two important events occurred. First, there was a change in the United States Justice Department. This was largely caused by Senator Oliver Perry Morton, Indiana, and Senator Lyman Trumbull, head of the Senate Judiciary Committee. These men realized that Baskin and Maxwell were making fools of themselves. Senator Morton, who was a cripple, had viewed from his wheelchair some of the disgraceful performances of Judge McKean at Faust's Hall. Second, the United States Supreme Court reversed the Englebrecht case holding unconstitutional a Utah Territorial decision which disqualified all jurors cohabitating with more than one woman or who believed in such principle.*

Inasmuch as the Grand Jury indictments against Daniel H. Wells, Brigham Young, and others, had been returned by such unconstitutional juries, the indictments were void. The cases were therefore later dismissed and new indictments were not issued.

Judge McKean was not to be thwarted. He got his next chance at Brigham Young, when Brigham's plural wife, Ann Eliza Webb Young, filed suit for divorce. The Judge ordered Brigham Young to pay alimony. When, on the advice of his lawyers, he refused to do so, pending an appeal, the smarting McKean ordered Brigham to jail. This was in 1875. Brigham Young was not disconcerted in the least. He was, according to Tullidge:

The Lion of the Lord still, but the Lion in repose. Sitting a prisoner in the court, he was, in the sight of his people, superior to the court; in the presence of the judge incomparably greater than the judge. McKean himself, in his way, was painfully conscious of this vast superiority of Brigham Young, and his overwhelming presence in lion like repose in his court.**

Brigham was not only a lion in repose—he was in fact an old and feeble lion.

Brigham Young served his day as the Warden's guest. When he was released the next day he was escorted into the City by his cheering followers. This was McKean's final mistake. It outraged even anti-Mormons, and was entirely unnecessary. A few days later, President Grant nominated Isaac C. Parker of Missouri to replace McKean. The ordeal was over, but Brigham was too old and feeble to enjoy his triumph. His last two years were to be years of twilight—both actually and figuratively.

During this unhappy period the young Ashton family came of age. The older boys accepted more and more responsibility. By 1876, young Edward had finished his apprenticeship, and had begun to branch out on his own. Brig, while trained as a skilled mason, was already beginning to show a special interest in education. Jed was about to step into his father's shoes as leader of the Fifteenth Ward Choir. Elizabeth, who, by 1876, was sixteen years of age, was well on her way to becoming an expert tailoress. She had been studying this skilled trade since she was fourteen. Sarah and

*U. S. vs Englebrecht, U. S.

**Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*

Emm were in school. George was still "a tot." Family histories written about the various children reveal how closely knit the family had become. Their social life originated at the Wardhouse and centered about their religion. Even their academic education, at this early point in their lives, was entirely Mormon-oriented. Most of it occurred either at the school under the direction of Thomas Howell or at the Institute, forerunner of the Mutual Improvement Association. These Institutes were conducted in the Wardhouses during the evening. Thomas Howell's predecessor was Edward Ashton, who no doubt thus taught his children, both at home and at school. Edward's sons, Edward T. and Brigham Willard, later became two of the first Presidents of the Institute.⁹

It is certain that such an education presented very few conflicts in the minds of the students. The bitter conflict which arose between Mormons and non-Mormons during the McKean regime had no doubt solidified the thinking of the young Ashtons so that they were very pro-Mormon and anti-gentile. I doubt that they were overly tolerant of any beliefs other than their own. Intolerance was not one-sided in the Territory in the 1870's.

In October of 1875, President Ulysses S. Grant and a very important collection of friends and officials visited the city. He and Brigham Young, who was now very feeble, had but one meeting. This occurred in a railroad car at Ogden. The entertainment of the President in Salt Lake City was mostly by non-Mormons. William Jennings gave a dinner at the Devereaux House. Brigham Young did not attend.

President Grant, like most every other person who visited the Mormon community, was impressed. While passing through the City streets on a Sunday morning he saw a large number of children who waved greetings to him. He inquired: "Whose children are these?" Governor Emery answered: "Mormon children." For several moments the President was silent, and then he murmured in a tone of reproach, "I have been deceived." From this moment on the Grant administration changed its attitude towards the Mormons. Mrs. Grant, when she heard the great Mormon Tabernacle Organ and Choir, exclaimed to her host, W. H. Hooper, "Oh, I wish I could do something for these good people."^{*}

From 1875 until his death, Brigham Young remained in semi-seclusion. His worshipping followers watched and cared for his every need. Never was he without a perpetual guard. By now he needed someone to act as his eyes, as his vision was almost gone. Young men, who were considered trustworthy, were given the task of guard duty. This was considered a great honor. Edward's son, Edward T., who was now a six footer of twenty-two, was called to perform this function on several occasions. On Sunday, April 29, 1877, he wrote in his Journal:

I went with J.H. Moyle and T.H. Evans to guard at the President's where I remained all evening. The next day I returned from the President's at 5:00.

On Thursday, August 29th, 1877, Brigham Young died. The technical name given for the cause of his death was enterocolitis, commonly called at that time, inflammation of the bowels. It was very probably a ruptured appendix with complications of

^{*}Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, page 624

peritonitis. In a later age a simple operation would have saved the Church President's life. Certainly, there were no doctors in the Territory in 1877 who understood enough to cure the complication.

Young Edward T., who was by now a skilled stone mason, records in his Journal that he put the lettering on the President's gravestone. He wrote:

August 1877

Wed. 29th:

Worked all day. At 4:00 o'clock B. Y. died.

Thur. 30th:

Did nothing in the morning on account of Pres.'s death. In afternoon worked on his vault.

Friday, 31st:

Worked all day on President's vault.

Sat. 1st Sept.:

Worked all day and until 12:00 o'clock at night at Pres.'s vault. At 1:00 o'clock in at Tabernacle to see President's corpse.

By 1877, the Ashton home was completely remodeled and modernized. Most of the work was done by Edward and his sons, even including George, who was by then seven years of age. Ed and Brig, who had been apprenticed, were now skilled masons. Jed, having completed his apprenticeship, was a skilled mechanic with a "knack for doing things." Together they made quick work of the project.

In earlier years their home had been faced with hand made adobe. Now it was to be faced with brick from the Morris and Evans brickyard. The inside dimensions were extended and altered so the outer room or parlour was extended to the front six feet, putting a porch in front of each bedroom. Modern plumbing was installed replacing the old out-house. George S. Ashton, many years later, remembering fondly his childhood home, wrote:

In front of the house and on either side of the gate stood two very large Golden Sweet Apple Trees with flowers and some grass. A small patch north of the house (as the house was built on the south line of the lot) was planted with a few vegetables. Then came the well, apple trees, and a green gage plum tree. About ten feet to the rear of the house was the cellar and granary. Then came the playgrounds, four rods in length, and across the lot north and south there were large apple trees. One porter, one sweet bouth, one big red, two Rhode Island Greenlings, two Spitzenburgs, one Winter Paimain, were on the lot. Under the shady branches of these wonderful fruit trees was the children's playground; swing, tricky bar, crouquet ground and horseshoe pitching. Instead of using horseshoes, Jed used to make rings out of cast iron; and these were what we pitched.

North of the playground was the woodpile and chopping block; then the cow shed, chicken coop, pig pen, and hay shed. All the above mentioned occupied about seven rods, leaving the balance of 13 rods for our farming. A strip on the north and one on the east end was planted with lucerne; and then came the potato and corn patches; then there was plenty of space left for cabbage, radish, lettuce, beets, carrots, tomatoes and currant and gooseberry

trees. And on this small farm, we had our happy home, playgrounds, cow (named Polly), pigs, and chickens, and raised mostly all our food supplies and our fruit together, with Father's monthly wage of from \$40.00 to \$50.00 per month, mending all the family shoes and working each day; we lived very comfortably and Father and Mother never went in debt for anything.*

The foregoing account reveals something more than a simple description of a home. It is filled with nostalgic love.

The same feeling is expressed in poetry written by Brigham Ashton. As a young man he expressed it in one of his early stanzas:

Our old familiar (family house)
Will live for many a year,
Though of timbers and materials
Its site has been made clear.
In memory's panorama
Twill find a place to stand
As a beacon to the wayward,
As they meet life's bars of sand
When the pictures of our childhood
On time's broad wall are cast.
And the children of today
Through life have almost past,
They'll turn their eyes with pleasure
To scenes they love so well
And to their little children
Their pleasant stories to tell.¹⁰

By 1876, the oldest son, Edward T., was rapidly developing a business of his own. His daily Journal of that year shows he had in his employ his brother Brig, his uncle Will Treharne, his uncle Owen Roberts, and several others. The employment of these men occurred whenever Edward T. took a construction contract. In addition to these private ventures, he was still associated with Morris and Evans, acting for them as a foreman and draftsman.

In 1876, William Hearst, the father of William Randolph Hearst, commenced the building of his great fortune at the Ontario Mine in Park City. In that year the owners decided to build the Ontario Mill. The housing for this project was undertaken by Morris and Evans. Young Edward, who was now twenty-one, was in charge of the masonry work. On September 12, 1876, he wrote in his Journal:

Went to the store and purchased 25 cents worth of nails, then to the lumber yard and got 80 cents worth of lumber, which I made a box to go to Park City with. Spent \$1.00 for over-pants, also a lock 35 cents. 25 cents for dinner. In the evening prepared to go off.

*George S. Ashton, "The Happy Home".

The next day he took his Uncle William and went with H. Evans and D. Williams with a crew of men to Park City. He remained there until late November. On Friday, Nov. 20th, he wrote:

Finished the stack which was about 95 feet high.

On Nov. 24th, he wrote:

Finished the job.

Edward T. Ashton also notes:

Went to visit Park City where I saw drunkenness and gambling.

On Oct. 27th he "gave a chinaman 15 cents for washing my shirt." He even wrote in one entry: "went into town and made a fool of myself." He didn't state what the foolishness was.

During 1876 and 1877, young Edward continued his construction employment. In the summer of 1877, he was almost completely on his own. That summer he contracted work at the Germania Mill in Little Cottonwood Canyon, and at the Cardiff mine in Big Cottonwood Canyon. In 1877 this was called The Welsh Mine. By now he was completely on his own. In the future he was to engage in construction projects throughout the Western United States. But that is a history of its own. It is enough to say young Edward had a part in the construction of every hydro power plant in the Western United States during the late 1800's. Also, he built The Church Office Building, the Post Office, Angel Hall at the University, all the Officer housing at Fort Douglas, the car barns, now Trolley Square, and many others too numerous to mention. In 1913, when the State Capitol was to be built, Edward T. and others went to Governor Spry and convinced him that the building should be built of local granite. As a result of these efforts, the Capitol Commission ruled Utah labor and Utah products would be used exclusively in the building. The Governor told Edward there was no local company big enough to do the job. Edward thereupon organized The Utah Consolidated Stone Company, with himself as President. Arrangements were made to borrow \$250,000 from The Deseret National Bank. A meeting was held and the President of the bank told Edward T. if he would take the job and would personally see it through, he would lend him the money without other signatures. This was done, and two and a half years later the job was completed.*

I have often wondered how one with no more than an eighth grade education acquired the skills to do what young Edward T. Ashton did in his later life. Perhaps formal education is not as important as we in later generations suppose it to be. Some modern educated people know a great deal about most everything and don't know how to do much of anything. Young Edward was not one of those who did not know how to do.

*The George S. Ashton Story

The children of the Ashton family, as products of their environment, were understandably completely devoted to their Church. Edward Ashton's oldest son repeatedly refers in his early Journals to his contributions and those of his family. Whenever there was a spare moment during workdays, or even in the evenings, he and Brig would usually go to the Temple grounds and "work on a stone." Both were skilled stone masons. Many of the stones now in place in the Temple felt the influence of their skilled and devoted hands.

Brig, who was determined to get an education, worked nights shoveling coal, so he could have sufficient funds to accomplish his purpose. Many nights he worked all night, earning ten cents a ton. One night when he was over to the coal yard he collapsed from his efforts. After reviving himself, "he walked home, glad to be alive."*

Brig's future as one of Utah's great educators was foretold by his conduct as a young man. During this early period it was his custom when the days work was done to make his rounds among the boys, who, in those days, had little to do but play mumble peg on the ditch banks. He would join in the games, all the while engaging in conversation, suggesting greater mental activities and usefulness. He organized a night school in the upper part of his father's granary, gathered the boys together and taught them, without any remuneration, what he thought would interest them. He organized debating clubs, supervised the work, and encouraged the boys to read good books. Later in life, Brig was the one who was the primary moving force which caused the consolidation law to be enacted resulting in the Granite School District. It was he, more than any other, who eliminated the one room school of his childhood.*

His interest in people did not stop at the school level; it also took him into the field of politics where he became one of the original organizers of the Republican Party in Utah.* He was several times elected Superintendent of the Granite School District winning by large majorities.

But Brigham Ashton's story cannot be told on a page or two. That story will be written by someone other than this writer. His last words before he died August 25, 1912, were, "I love humanity." So did his mother, Jane Treharne, who, with her husband, taught their children to love their fellow man. Brigham Ashton expressed his views and the view of his mother in the following stanza written by him as a young man:

The pleasure of causing weak men to do right
In the army of virtue to enlist and to fight
To battle with error, to conquer one's self.
To look to Heaven, and not down at pelf.
To feel, although sinful, each soul is a prize.
That tis noble to love, as well as be wise.

Even the Indians knew the Ashtons were a "soft touch." On their frequent visits to the Ashton home, Jane would invite the squaws to sit down on the steps and rest while she found something for them to eat. She always gave them flour and sugar. Sometimes they asked for tea. When she gave them bread and molasses, they would lick off the molasses and put the bread in their sacks for their husbands.** Such examples had a

*Claude Ashton, the son of Brigham Willard Ashton, *Brigham Willard Ashton*.

***Life of Jane Treharne Ashton*, written by her children

lasting effect on the Ashtons. Without exception, the children all grew up to be kind and extremely charitable—to a fault.

Jedediah, like Brig, loved people. He seems to have been much like his father, being very musical. His family reports that "he had a beautiful tenor voice and played the coronet." He succeeded his father as leader of the Fifteenth Ward Choir. In the 1800's this was still a great honor. Because of the Welsh singing talent in the Fifteenth Ward, this Choir was second only to the Tabernacle Choir.

Like Brig, he was an organizer, forming Glee Clubs and entertainment throughout the City. As a young man he was an outstanding athlete, playing second base on the best team in the Territory. Heber J. Grant was on the team, but not the pitcher as is frequently stated. He sometimes played first base. Jed is a special friend of mine because of the many kindnesses he extended to my mother. His history and that of his wife has been written, entitled *A History of Jedediah William Ashton and Mary Eliza Salisbury Ashton* by Norma Gibbs Olsen and Reid H. Johnson.

The stories told about the other children have been told by their own families. The story of George S. Ashton has been compiled in the *George S. Ashton Story*. I have a vivid recollection of "Uncle George." After my father died he employed me during the summers along with his son and my closest childhood friend, Melvin. George was a very religious and also a very practical man. Like his brother Edward, he was a contractor, working with Edward T. in the Ashton Improvement Co. Like Edward T., he became a Bishop, and while Bishop utilized his building experience to construct the Capitol Hill Ward—one of the beautiful architectural structures in this City. (Edward T. Ashton's son, Raymond, was the architect.)

Elizabeth Ann Ashton, to those who remember her, Aunt Lizzie, lived in her later years a lonely life. She never married. One reason was because she selflessly took over the responsibility of raising the family of her deceased sister, Sarah Jane, who died November 27, 1887, when she was 26 years old. Aunt Lizzie who was 27 at the time, became a "mother" to the two children, Joseph and Mary. Mary died young, but Joseph and his wife Ethel Watson lived with Aunt Lizzie all their lives. I remember Aunt Lizzie. She was overly kind and awesomely strong of character. She was a Puritan—I can't imagine her doing anything contrary to her early Mormon teachings.

Emily Treharne Ashton, the youngest girl, had the same strong character and kindness as her older sister. Aunt Emm became a strong leader in the community in Oakley, Utah, being Stake Relief Society President. Her son Ralph was President of that Stake for many years. I have many fond memories of fishing and riding horses on summer visits to "Aunt Emm's farm" at Oakley, Utah. I think what I remember most about her was austerity and hard work. There wasn't anything "wishy washy" about this woman. She, like Lizzie, carried more than her own load. My Aunt Emm brings to mind another Brig stanza, also written when he was a young man:

They tell us that life is no dream,
But a real upward climb of a star;
That the boy or the girl who succeeds,
Must not nestle too close to dull care.

To Aunt Emm life was no dream. It may be that she and Aunt Lizzie were obliged to "nestle too close to dull care."

Notes to Chapter Twenty-Seven

¹Prior to the development of the ZCMI opposition to "gentile" merchants caused those gentlemen, collectively, to write the following letter:

TO THE LEADERS OF THE MORMON CHURCH.

Gentlemen, as you are instructing the people of Utah . . . not to trade or do any business with gentile merchants, thereby intimidating and coercing the community to purchase only of such merchants as belong to your faith and persuasion (Jenning, Hooper, Eldredge, et al.) in anticipation of such a crisis . . . gentile merchants make you the following proposition . . . (then follows a proposal to sell all merchandise and houses and improvements at market value less 25% and after which they will freely leave the Territory).

Signed Dec. 20, 1866

Gilbert & Sons
Walker Bros.
Bodenberg & Kahn
William Sloan
C. Prag of firm of
Ransohoff & Co.
Ellis & Bros.
McGrorty & Henry
J. Meeks
F. Auerbach & Bros.
Siegel Bros.
Oliver Durant

L. Cohn & Co.
S. Lesser & Bros.
Klopstock & Co.
Glucksman & Cohn
Wilkinson & Fenn
Morse Walcott & Co.
J. Watters
J. Bauman & Co.
M. B. Callahan
Morris Equitter
Thomas D. Brown & Co.

HISTORY OF UTAH, ANDREW LOVE NEFF,
page 817.

²One of founders of Layton, Utah. Also, one of the Officers of Lemhi Expedition. Military Records, Nauvoo Legion Archives, State Capitol.

³*History of Salt Lake City*, Edward W. Tullidge, page 719—Tullidge identifies Joseph A. Young and John W. Young as sons of Brigham. I wonder if this is correct. In *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, a Joseph Young and John Young are listed as sons of John Young and Nabbie Howe, who were parents of Brigham Young. Did Brigham Young have a son named John W. or Joseph A.? —Yes.

⁴Both Wyoming and Utah gave women equal rights about the same time and for the

same basic reason. They were both trying to qualify more voters so they could achieve Statehood. They were not concered with Women's Lib.

⁵When I was fourteen I spent one summer in Idaho Falls with my father, Edward T. Ashton. He was at that time building the L.D.S. Hospital in that City. That entire summer, which was the last of his life, I was with him night and day. One night before retiring he showed me the scar from the Indian arrow.

⁶The best account of the Wooden Gun Rebellion is in Tullidge's *History of Salt Lake City*. It was ludicrous in its aspects and deadly serious in its significance. It was the death struggle of the Nauvoo Legion. When that body was disbanded all hope of a "Kingdom of God" in this world—perished with it.

⁷Edward T. Ashton frequently referred to his father's fondness for the writings of Emerson—Edward T. shared this taste.

⁸The Mormons did not have many lawyers of their own at this time. One reason was that Brigham Young disliked lawyers and doctors. An early session of the Territorial Legislature made it unlawful to collect a fee for legal services. *Laws of Utah Legislative Assembly 1855*, Chap. VI, Sec. 2.

⁹*Fifteenth Ward Memories*, Mary Barraclough, page 157. His predecessors were Richard S. Horne, William S. Burton, and Thomas C. Griggs. His brother, Brigham W. Ashton, was his successor.

¹⁰This stanza as well as others contained in this Chapter taken from a pamphlet of poetry written by Brigham Ashton and loaned to me by his son, Willard Ashton, oldest son of Brigham Ashton. This collection of poetry deserves more special attention than given here.

¹¹One of the mechanics who worked with Jed Ashton at Silver Brothers Foundry and the Railroad where he was a skilled machinist was Salter Chrysler founder of Chrysler Corporation. The first tools Chrysler used were made by Jedediah Ashton—(Source of this story, Preston (Pete) Ashton, son of Jedediah.)

Chapter Twenty-Eight

Final Years 1880-1904

Edward and Jane shared their last days together at their home on 6th West. In 1880 George, who was six years younger than Em was ten. His older sisters were still at home. Sarah, who married in 1882, died of Typhoid in 1887, leaving two children, a boy and a girl. They were taken into the Ashton home where they were cared for by the family. In 1893 George married. During the next four years, even though Jane was not well, she and her husband, with the help of Lizzie, cared for the two youngsters. The little girl died early, but the boy, Jodie, remained on 6th West until Jane died. At the time of her death she was 69 years old. The *Deseret News* on the 30th day of August 1897, reported:

The death of Mrs. Jane Ashton, wife of Edward Ashton, occurred at the family residence, 127 South Sixth West, last night at 9:45. Dropsy was the immediate cause of her demise.

The deceased was an estimable woman, a faithful wife and loving mother. She leaves a husband and seven children, four sons and three daughters, to mourn her departure.

The account then recites genealogical and brief family background and concludes:

In accordance with her request her funeral will be entirely without ostentation or show.

The services will be held in the Fifteenth Ward Meeting House . . . Friends of the family are invited to attend. The remains may be viewed at the residence, 127 South Sixth West Street, from 1 to 3 P.M. on Wednesday.

Edward's remaining days seem to have been lonely and sad. His oldest son, Edward T., built a small home next door to his own residence on the corner of 6th West

and 1st South. There Edward and Aunt Lizzie, together with the growing Jodie, spent the rest of their lives.

At the rear of the house was a small shoe shop where Edward followed his old trade of mending and making shoes. It was a lonely and profitless task. The Industrial Revolution, which began when Edward was a child, was in full bloom by the time he was an old man. Manufactured shoes had long since reduced the once dignified and profitable trade of the shoemaker to the relative menial task of mending shoes. To supplement his income he worked at the Oregon Short Line Railroad as a painter. He was so employed at the time of his death. Thus, from the time he was a child until he was an old man he worked. There was no Social Security for him. On February 7, 1904, *The Deseret News* reported in prominent position:

EARLY SETTLER DEAD

Edward Ashton aged 82 years falls a victim to Paralysis.

Edward Ashton, for 52 years a resident of this City, died last evening at his home, 120 So. 7th West Street, of paralysis, at the ripe age of 82 years and 6 months. Mr. Ashton had been ill but a few days; in fact he attended the reunion of Indian War Veterans on Monday last and was stricken with the affliction . . . the day after.

It then lists his parents and survivors and continues:

He arrived (in Salt Lake City) October 17, 1852. He participated in most all the trying scenes of early times . . .

He was one of those rugged types of honest manhood whose friends were legion and whose enemies very few . . .

During the Utah troubles known as the Echo Canyon War he took an active part. At the time of the move he sent his family south to Spanish Fork while he remained as a special guard of the property in the 15th Ward, his main duty being to set fire to all its houses in case the U.S. Army were hostile. He also took part in the Indian Wars in the State . . .

From the very scanty hearsay information available, told to me by some of their children and grandchildren, principally Edward M. Ashton and Willard Ashton, I gained some significant information which reveals something of the character of both Edward and Jane. During this period "Brig," the third son, wanted to abandon his apprentice training as a stone mason to further his academic education at the University. His father was bitterly opposed, holding that the only real virtues were industry and thrift. To him a higher education was an unnecessary frill. Jane disagreed and encouraged Brig, who struck a compromise. He finished both his apprenticeship and his education, becoming, as pointed out elsewhere in this history, one of Utah's great educators.

Edward T, the oldest son, had a related experience. As a young apprenticed stone mason, he had become very proficient in chiseling figures out of stone, such as doves and angels, many of which are still in existence in the old City Cemetery. Any figures in

this category prior to Brigham Young's death in 1877 on the old burial stones were probably carved by Edward T.

One of his carvings, a flying bird, was treasured by his mother and exhibited proudly over the fireplace in their home on 6th West. I have a recollection, as a child, of a stone figure of Conway, Edward T's second son (life size) in the loft of the old barn on 7th West. I am sure it, along with the bird, has long since disappeared.

Jane was enthusiastic about her son's creative efforts—but not Edward. He thought it a frivolity. His view: This effort should have been spent "working on a stone" for the Temple. (shades of Puritanism)

While Edward T. loved and respected his father, he was "his mother's son". Even after his marriage he visited with her often and relied upon her for advice. While he was launching his career as a builder she handled his funds, and in the early stages loaned him money. I suspect she was the business manager of the Ashton household. In fact, I suspect she was a prime driving force to both her children and her husband. In writing this, I do not mean to detract from Edward. He contributed strength and character and there was never any doubt that he was the head of his family. Jane, like many Mormon women, was just as influenced in the formation of Mormon culture as her husband. One would certainly not think so by examining such books as *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*. Of the several thousand Pioneers, mediocre and otherwise, pictured therein, there is not one picture of a woman certainly in the Ashton family and Jones family, of Cedar City. The Treharne wives, Jane and Sage, contributed as much, if not more, than their husbands. It was through their influence and their families that they had their impact.

Finally, I must write that, while I have concentrated in this history on temporal affairs in the historical sequence, because that aspect of Utah history is sometimes overlooked, and because I believe that Edward Ashton operated largely in that sphere, I do not mean to give the impression that he was not active in his Church. He was at one time President of the Second Quorum of the Seventies. It is certain that his religion was the dominant force in his life.

The devout adherence of these two good people to their religious beliefs formed a secure and positive environment for their growing family. There was probably never any question in any of their minds about what was "right" and "wrong." People with this kind of orientation have very little difficulty in setting a course, and usually have enough courage and strength to pursue it. By doing so, they keep out of trouble and find a comfortable and reassuring happiness of an enduring nature. Most of us can review the steady course followed by them and their children with a good deal of envy.

In the end, they, like others who humbly and meekly tend to their own affairs, respect their own beliefs, and befriend their neighbors, leave a heritage to their children more valuable than wealth, more lasting than power, and more satisfying than any material achievement. The children and grandchildren of such people do, in fact, as promised, inherit the earth—more so than most, if not all, the descendants of those who, like some of the early Utah prospectors, gained great wealth and power, by taking from the earth the great wealth of Utah's mines. These people left beautiful monuments of brick and stone. In the end, the power it gave in most cases corrupted more than it benefited both them and their children. The Welsh have a saying, "It is three generations from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves." Sometimes it takes a little longer. But it is

inevitable. There is an eternal economy about life which is so designed that power and wealth destroy, while virtue and integrity eventually survive.

The Pioneer Ashtons and Treharnes were indeed meek and humble. They were also industrious and honest. Most of their children and grandchildren inherited the legacy promised.

Chapter A of Appendix

Edward Ashton's Maternal Grandmother, Hester Davies

My examination of the Ashton lineage starts with Edward Ashton's maternal grandmother, Hester Davies. The reasons for doing so are: First, her ancestors show clearly an Anglo-Norman background, and second, their close association with the early Church of England makes their genealogies relatively easy and interesting to trace.

The mother of Hester Davies was Hester Lloyd. Hester is a Welsh name and so are Davies and Lloyd. But from that point on, looking backward into the Elizabethan period, all the names are Norman and English. The significance of these early Norman and English names has been shown. Almost all their occupations centered around the newly established Church of England. They were the Vicars, Church Wardens, Church Guards, and Church Economis of the new ecclesiastical order. Practically all of Hester Lloyd's ancestors, through at least four generations, were Vicars, Church Wardens, Economis, or Church Guards. Hester Lloyd's mother was Mary Benbow. Mary's father was John Benbow. He was a Vicar and so was his grandfather and his grandfather's brother. Of this remarkable family the following is noted:

John Benbow 1660. He was a native of Trefeglwys. His father John Benbow died 1677 was the Village Innkeeper and married Mary Beversley (whose father was a Vicar) a member of another local family. Of their seven children two sons were Vicars of Trefeglwys, John (1660-1669) and Edward (1669-1673), while a daughter, Ann, was a mother of a third Vicar, Edward Bennett (1706-1731). The Reverend John Benbow married Dorothy Wilson of Trefeglwys on November 5, 1644. Benbow B.A. (Oxford) was also presented on July 28, 1669 to the Vicarage of Llangurig which he held with Trefeglwys until his death in 1669.¹

Five of the foregoing are direct ancestors of Mary Benbow, and one, as will be noted, was the ancestor of Edward Ashton's father, Richard. Dorothy Wilson and John Benbow are also both direct ancestors of Mary Benbow. Dorothy Wilson had a brother, Hugh Wilson, who was also a Vicar of Llangurig and Trefeglwys. Of him the following is written:

Hugh Wilson, 1674, February 25th, 1673-4 by George Pope Gen. (Pryce 3 C page 8) and again years later January 14th, 1676, Hugh Wilson M.A. (Oxford) by George Pope (Pryce 3 D page 9). Like the Reverend Benbow he held Llangurig as well as Trefeglwys. Hugh Wilson was probably the younger son of Richard Wilson of Trefeglwys and a brother of John Wilson of Pencastell, and later of Ffinnant, two large farms in the Parish. . . He assisted in the persecution of the Quakers who were then struggling to establish themselves at Llanidloes. . . The baptism of five of Hugh Wilson's children is entered in the Register: John 1680, Maria 1681, Margaret 1689. Elizabeth 1685, and Ursula 1688 posthumously. He died in 1687. His widow only survived him by about nine months. She left five young children, all under eight years of age. They found a home with their cousins at Ffinnant (See Richard Bennett: *Methedistiaeth Trefeglwys 1754 to 1814* page 9). John, like his father, took orders and became Rector of Penegoes, near Machyalleth. There, on August 1st, 1714, was born his third son Richard, the great landscape painter, Hugh Wilson's third daughter, Elizabeth, married Sir John Pratt, and was the mother of the first Earl Camden, sometime Lord Chancellor.^{2 3}

The first John Benbow shown on Chart C was the Innkeeper of The Red Lion of Trefeglwys. This Inn is directly across the street from the ancient Parish Church. Its ancient and antique facilities still serve the villagers. In Wales a Pub is as much a social institution as the Church. Both serve the same patrons and enjoy mutual respectability. I enjoyed visiting both in Trefeglwys in the summer of 1973.

John Benbow, the first Innkeeper, married Mary Beversley, who was also the daughter of a Vicar. Even the pedigree of Hester Lloyd's father, David Lloyd, shows in the inter-marriages the strong reference and relationship to the Church of England. It is probable that David Lloyd's ancestors on the paternal side came from the early Ordovician tribes which inhabited North Wales. He was the fourth in line of oldest sons carrying the name David and by reason of that fact inherited the family estate known as Cefn Barrach. Cefn Barrach is a large farmhouse carrying the inscription MLL 1705 IM (David and Mary Lloyd; Lews Manuel—the carpenter.) This is the date of remodeling—not the date of original construction. This David Lloyd and Margaret are the grandparents of Hester Lloyd.⁴

It is probable that one of the earliest Lloyds shown on Chart E who came from Cardigan, was the Sir David Lloyd referred to in the Parochial Account of Llangurig. The reason for so concluding is that Sir David came from Cardigan and visited in Llanidloes and Llangurig. He dealt in real estate in Trefeglwys, mostly by encumbering it to cover his debts.

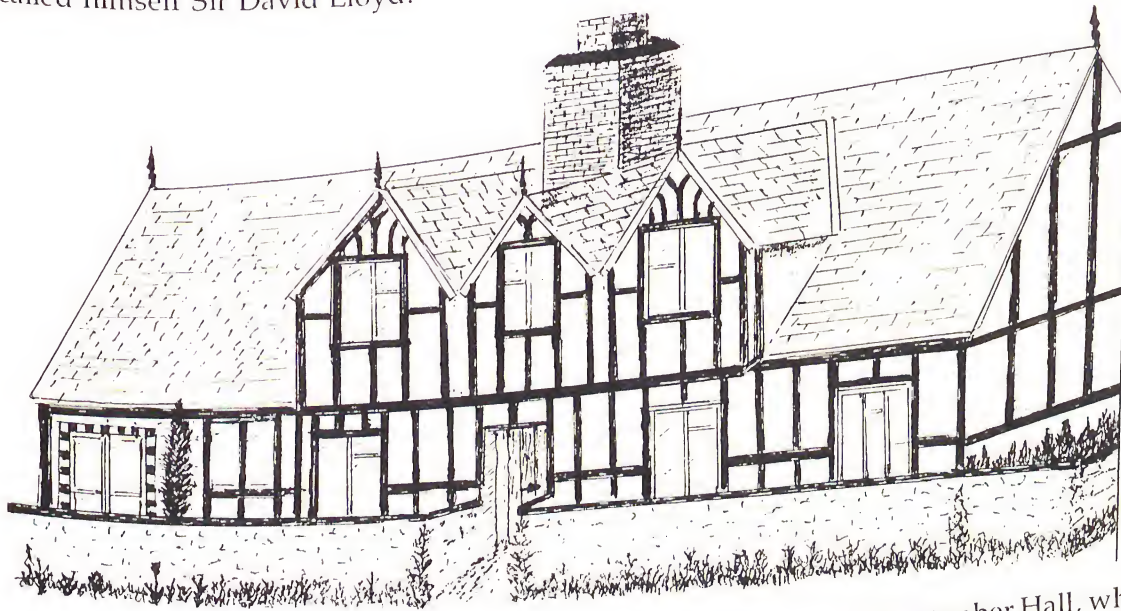
David was an interesting character who dealt in the occult and lived by his wits. Of him it is written:

On 'Sir' David Lloyd, who lived not far from Yspytty Ystwith in the adjoining

Chapter A of Appendix

Cardiganshire Parish, appears to have been a curate lately of that Church and a physician, but being known to deal in the magic art, he was turned out of the curacy and obliged to live by practicing physic. It is thought that he learnt the magic art privately in Oxford in the profane time of Charles the Second (1660-1678), when many vices greatly prevailed. 'Sir' David was in the habit of regularly visiting the neighboring market towns of Llanidloes and Rhayader, passing through Llangurig on his way to and from the former. ⁵

I believe David's father was Sir Edward Lloyd (Knight) who was born in Cardigan, as shown on Chart B, and who at one time was an owner of Cefn Barrach. He had a son David who was a spendthrift—and who died penniless. I think this is the David who attended Oxford, lost his curacy, and practiced the physic art. It also explains why he called himself Sir David Lloyd.



A house Cefn Barrach near Trefeglwys.

The mother of Margaret Hall was Ann Bennett. She married Christopher Hall, who was a Church Warden. Ann Bennett's father was Thomas Bennett who married Elizabeth Ashton, who no doubt was descended from the George, who was the common ancestor of all the Ashtons in the district.

David Lloyd and his wife, Margaret Hall, especially interest me. As will be pointed out later, she became the wife of Athelustan Savage when her husband David died. She thus is a double ancestor of Edward Ashton. The Lloyds for generations have preserved their old home. David and Margaret stand strong in the line as progenitors of the present day Lloyds who still till the soil of their ancestors.

In 1973 I visited the David Lloyds in their ancient and well maintained home at Cefn Barrach. David always signs his name Dewi Lloyd. They are fine people and have a son David who will carry on the tradition. Cefn Barrach adjoins and is contiguous to Rhyd y Cawr. At one time they comprised a single farm.

Hester Davies' father was Morris Davies, one of the first Welshmen in the lineage. He was buried at Trefeglwys on December 17, 1778. He and his wife had a son John and three daughter, Elizabeth, Ann, and Ester. He left a will which was proved on July 9,

1779, in which he left 183 Pounds, 115 Shillings, and 10 Pence. This consisted of wearing apparel, household furniture, goods in the shop, and money due. Morris, like most Welsh people of his time, could not write English; he therefore, signed his will by his mark. Up to this point all the ancestors of both sexes had been well enough educated to read and write. The will was witnessed by his wife's father, David Lloyd, and by Charles Davies, both signing their own names. From this will it is clear that he had a shop of some sort and that his total assets, while minimal were in excess of that of most people living in the area at that time.

Morris' father was also named Morris Davies. He was a Church Warden at Trefeglwys and was buried in 1720.⁶ His wife was Ann Hall whom he married January 30, 1714, at Trefeglwys. This Ann Hall was a niece of Margaret Savage, who was Margaret Lloyd, wife of one of the Athelustan Savages in the Savage line, Ann's father was Christopher Hall, who was the son of Christopher Hall who married Ann Bennett. An examination of the pedigree charts will show how closely these people inter-married.

I have spent a great deal of time examining records of North Wales and feel justified in reporting that none of the families in the area were more respected than that belonging to Hester Davies, particularly the ancestors of her mother Hester Lloyd. At least two of Hester Lloyd's ancestors were Oxford graduates and Vicars. These were the Benbows. The Bennetts and Lloyds were listed by one writer of the Sixteenth Century as two of the chief families of the district. The Beversley, Wilson, and Bennett families each produced a Vicar. Thomas and Christopher Hall, Giles and Richard Jarmen, and Humphrey Breynton were all either Church Wardens, Economis, or Church Guards. All were listed as Gentlemen. The Wilson family produced the great landscape painter, Richard Wilson, and also other outstanding men and women.

Not enough attention has been given to the Lloyds because the first Lloyd of Cefn Barrach came from Cardigan and I have not extended my efforts into the Diocese. Britain's great wartime Prime Minister, Sir David Lloyd, was a Lloyd from Cardigan. Those who like to associate their ancestry with famous people could find fruitful hunting in this area.⁷

If Morris Davies and Ann Hall are correctly placed, then it is clear that the next ancestor of the Davies line is Maurice, with the Norman spelling. His wife was named Jana or Jane. Maurice was a Yeoman, one of the class who owned their own property and formed the core of rural free English society.⁸ It has been observed herein that as the aristocracy increased in power, these small freeholders were gradually eliminated by the large landholders of the Gentry Class, until the common free man was stripped of most of his independence and dignity.

Notes to Chapter A of Appendix

¹Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. 54 (An Arwystli Notebook, No. 4).

²Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. 24, pages 42-44.

³In a note appended to the will of Robert Wilson, the following is stated:

A branch of the Wilson family was for several generations settled at Bodayoch, a township in the Parish of Trefeglwys and Hundred of Llanidloes. At the Assizes, 14th Charles II. 1662, 'Ricus Wilson de Bodayoch, gen.' occurs on a jury. He was not improbably the father of the Rev. John Wilson, Vicar of Penegoes, who was the father of the celebrated landscape painter, Richard Wilson. The Wilsons of Trefeglwys occupied a highly respectable position in that Parish, and were by marriage connected with some of the leading families in the neighborhood. A branch of the old Brockwellian family of Bowen, of Pen yr All Goch, settled in Trefeglwys. Two of its members seemed to have married Wilsons. There are Wilsons now living in the district, all of the well-to-do Yeoman Class.

Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. 24, page 43.

⁴*Cefn Barrach*, Richard Bennett, M.A., in his note on the "Lloyds of Cefn Barrach," (Dolgoed, Llawr Penegoes, Glanrafon, etc., Pedigree: 1922), wrote:

David Lloyd, commonly believed to have bought Cefn Barrach about 1691, was not the first of the line to own the place. The transaction in 1691 was rather that of redeeming a mortgage, than one of buying and selling. (David had encumbered the property—Sir Edward Lloyd owned Cefn Barrach before David.) It is not known that the estate belonged to Lloyd's grandparents, who were both dead in 1672.

From the statement made in 1648 by Edward Evans of Rhyd y Cawr, that his property included 'a tenement of lands called Keven Barrods, in the possession of David Evans,' one might conclude that the property was transferred from Edward Evans to the Lloyds about 1650. (Author of this statement did not know that Sir Edward had owned Cefn Barrach.)

In about 1700 David Lloyd of Cefn Barrach married Margaret, daughter of Christopher Hall of Penddol, also in Trefeglwys. The present house of Cefn Barrach bears the initials of David Lloyd and his wife, and the date 1705.

That David Lloyd I was able in 1691 to redeem the mortgage on his property and that David Lloyd II sixteen years later, was able to build the substantial farm-house appears to indicate a period of considerable prosperity for the agricultural community in Trefeglwys at the end of the 17th Century.

See Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. 18, page 287. Taken from "TRADITIONAL AND RENAISSANCE ELEMENTS IN SOME LATE STUART AND EARLY GEORGIAN HALF-TIMBERED HOUSES IN ARWYSTLI." By P. Smith and C.E.V. Owen, Vol. 55, Montgomeryshire Collections, page 101.

⁵Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. 3, A Parochial Account of Llangurig, page 262, Folklore.

⁶The Church Warden is the oldest lay officer of the Church. There is some local variation in custom in the appointment of the wardens, though the most usual practice is for there to be a Vicar's Warden and a people's Warden . . . As the representative of the body of the Parish, he was the Guardian (or Warden)

of the Church . . . He was responsible for keeping order during services, giving offenders into custody, presenting offenders against Ecclesiastical law, assigning seats to Parishoners, etc. These Church Wardens kept their own accounts. If a person knew where to look some of these still might be available. (These accounts were probably turned over to representatives of the Crown—where they may still be found.)

Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. 55, page 192.

⁷The Lloyds of Cefn Barrach originally came to Cefn Barrach from Yerenddyn, Llanfiliangel, Cwmnawidian, Cardigan, Wales. David Lloyd George's mother's father was named David Lloyd. Her brother was a shoemaker named Richard. Who was this shoemaker of Llanystumdwy, near Criccieth, on the road between the mountains and the sea that skirts the north shore of Cardigan Bay? Did the shoemaker of Llanystumdwy and the Yeoman of Cefn Barrach have a common ancestry? It is almost certain they did. Kumen Jones, a nephew of Jane Treharne, in notes left at the L.D.S. Genealogy Library in Salt Lake City, records that Richard Lloyd, the shoemaker of Llanystumdwy, the brother of Lloyd George's mother and who raised George, was a minister in the Church of Jesus Christ. I have not attempted to learn more about this note. Perhaps it may intrigue someone else to further research.

⁸Yeoman, a term meaning, "first, a class of holders of land . . . The Yeoman of later years . . . practically all occupied in cultivating the land, although from its younger sons it furnished retainers of the Great Lords, archers, and tradesmen for the towns. In the Seventeenth Century they were Freeholders, owning free land worth at least six pounds annually . . . They formed the intermediate class between the gentry and the laborers and artisans.
(Encyclopedia)

Chapter B of Appendix

Edward Ashton's Maternal Grandfather, Athelustan Savage

The first Savage I can identify in North Wales was at Trefeglwys. His name was Edward and his wife probably Margery Hall. She was buried in 1655. Edward left a will in 1653 in which he was identified as a Gentleman. Edward and Margery had at least one son. His name was John. I can date him only by a 1666 burial record. His wife Margery Tillsley was born in 1639 and buried in 1682. Both are clearly identified on Welsh genealogy charts.¹

Edward's son, John, was a Gentleman and as such qualified to sit on Grand Juries during the reign of Charles the Second (1662).² This John is a direct ancestor of Edward Ashton's mother Elizabeth Savage. Other descendants of Edward Savage and Margery Tillsley moved from the area of Trefeglwys. One, Andrew Savage, became the Vicar of Llanbrynmair where he served from 1663 until his death in 1680. Another descendant, Edward Savage, married Sarah Jones, January 8, 1693. He was Andrew's son. A third descendant married Elizabeth Moody of Welshpool. One of his sons became Vicar of Llanbrynmair in 1705. This son was named Richard. Ancestor John from Trefeglwys was the father of Andrew, the Vicar of Llanbrynamair. He was also the father of a John, an Edward, and a daughter Sarah. Sarah was apparently the last child born the year her father died in 1666.

Cefn Barrach, Bodaioch, and Rhyd y Cawr are all in the same small area and are contiguous. Almost all Edward Ashton's early ancestors were living there in the Seventeenth Century. The coincidence is so clear that I feel certain that Edward is the ancestor of the genealogy and that he was the father of the first Athelustan Savage. It may be significant that both Edward Savage and his father John were Economis at Trefeglwys.

We know that the first identified Athelustan died in 1745 leaving a widow Margaret. This Margaret was the widow of David Lloyd who died in 1707. My reasons are:

Athelustan Savage's will was signed by Margaret Savage and Thomas Bennett. The witnesses were George Davi and John Savage. Seven years later a Margaret Savage left a will also witnessed by John Savage. All were living in the same area. One of the names of the devisees under Margaret's will was: "One pound one shilling to Hester Davies, my granddaughter." Hester Davies was the granddaughter of Margaret Lloyd.

In her will Margaret, as the widow of Athelustan Savage, shows a close relationship not only to Hester Davies, but also to her nephews, Thomas Hall, John Hall, and Christopher Hall, and to the Lloyds, leaving "the sheep that is in David Lloyd's custody to Margaret Lloyd, his daughter."⁴

The third son of Athelustan Savage and his wife Hester Davies had several children, all born in the Parish of Llanwnnog. Their names were: Athelustan, 1780; Margaret, 1778; Elizabeth, 1776 (died in infancy); Elizabeth, 1782 (died in infancy); Elizabeth, 1795 (wife of Richard Ashton. She sometimes is referred to as Jane); Edward, 1787-89 (probably died in infancy); Edward, 1793; John, 1790; and Mary, 1784-84. Llanwnnog is a very short distance from Caersws and Trefeglwys.

Athelustan left a will dated June 12, 1814. In this will it appears that Athelustan was a tawer, i.e., a maker of skin for gloves. He signed his own name and left his property as follows:

To my son Edward, five pounds, to John, fifty pounds, to my daughter Mary, fifty pounds and a bedstead, bed, bedclothes and furniture, best hanging press...to my son-in-law, Thomas Hall of Newtown one shilling (apparently he did not like Thomas), to my beloved wife Hester, fifteen pounds a year, yearly and every year during the term of her natural life, to my son Athelustan the residue of money, bonds, houses, buildings, lands, etc.

The property listed included: horse, saddle, mare, colt, horses, cows, pigs, poultry, implements in husbandry, household goods, two spinning jennies, and stock. Athelustan was a man of considerable substance.

Not only did Athelustan accumulate considerable property, he was a highly interesting gentleman. His brother Edward of Llangurig was the Sorcerer who achieved some renown in North Wales in the Eighteenth Century.

Athelustan's great distinction (as indicated in Chapter 4), was his nonconformist religious activity. He was one of the original trustees of the Wesleyan Church in Arwystli.

I cannot with certainty trace the last Athelustan Savage shown of Chart B in a continuous uninterrupted chain to Edward Savage, the common ancestor of both Athelustan and Sarah Savage.

John Savage left a will dated August 31, 1666, in which he made the following bequests:

Will...in the Parish of Trefeglwys in County of Montgomery in Diocese of Bangor, Gentlmen. To Edward Savage my eldest son, household goods, etc., at 21 years, to John...my second son all my tenements of land purchased by me of 'Wakter Waring' late of Ouldbury in *County of Salop* known by the name of 'Morris Herverts'...to my son John and his heirs forever. If my son John should die before 21 years then same lands to Andrew Savage, my third son, his heirs forever...To Margaret Savage my eldest daughter sixty

pounds, to Sarah my second daughter sixty pounds. The rest of my goods to Margery my now wife . . . I appoint my brother-in-law Edward Bennett, John Breed, Lewis Paton, Christopher Hall, Overseers.

Witnesses (all signing their own names): Thomas Savage, Joe Breed, and Andrew Savage. The will was proved May 23, 1667.*

Edward, John, or Andrew are the only possible ancestors of Athelustan. Sarah was one of the younger children and she was born in 1666. Therefore, the three brothers named may have been too old to father Athelusan. One of the three brothers certainly was the father of the first Athelustan who was born at 1680 and who married Margaret, the widow of David Lloyd.

Notes to Chapter B of Appendix

¹Mr. Hugh Jenkins, relative of the Lloyds of Cefn Barrach and a good genealogist, furnished me with a chart in 1974, now in my possession, with copy furnished by me to Florence Saxton which identifies many of the "Ashton" ancestors. Edward Savage and Margery Tillsley are identified as ancestors on this chart. That genealogy places them as great grandparents of Athelustan Savage who died in 1745. I believe they could very well be a step closer, i.e., grandparents. I cannot prove it nor does Mr. Jenkins.

It has become clear to me since I first worked on the Savage genealogy that Athelustan Savage descended from the Savages of Chester where the family resided in a manor known as Rock Chester. One of the early Savages at Rock Chester was Sir John Savage whose wife Catherine was the daughter of Lord Stanley. Sir John and Lord Stanley were key figures in the Battle of Bosworth where the Earl of Richmond defeated Richard III and became Henry VII, the first of the Tudor Kings. This event raised Sir John and his large family to great eminence. Sir John Savage, the father of Edward Savage, our ancestor, who was probably the seventh Sir John, descended from the Savages and Stanleys who were prominent at the Battle of Bosworth. A younger Savage, not a son of the oldest son, became the ancestor of Lord Derby, and one of the female descendants became the mother of William Shakespeare.

Athelustan had a brother or cousin named Rock after the old family home now in ruins.

* Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. 13, page 178

²Only members of the Gentry were qualified to sit as Grand Jurors. The fact that John was on a Grand Jury in 1662 indicates that he was, at least at that time, a Crown supporter.

³Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. 17, page 37.

⁴Abstract of will, Bangor Court, dated February 5, 1752, proved June 1, 1752.

Witnesses

John Savage
Mark of Hugh Lewis (Welsh)
Edwd Evans (Rhyd y Cawr)

Margaret was from Trefeglwys at time of her death.

Chapter C of Appendix

Ancestors of Edward Ashton's and Richard Ashton's Paternal Grandfather

In Chapter 1, 2, 3, and 4, it is noted that the early Ashtons, particularly through the ancestry of Hester Lloyd and Athelustan Savage, were all Anglo-Normans, closely identified with the newly established Church of England. As Vicars, Church Wardens, Church Guards, and Church Economis, they were direct political-ecclesiastical beneficiaries of the change which had taken place. This was only partially true of ancestors actually carrying the name Ashton. These Ashtons were artisans and builders.

The first Ashton by that name, who appeared on the scene in Arwystli, was an expert farmer, builder, and "famous fiddler."¹ He probably came from Stafford county or more probably Shropshire County during the reign of Elizabeth.²

Since this was written I have become convinced that the early Ashtons came from the same general area as the Savages, i.e. the area near Liverpool and Chester and a short distance away. The reason is that their histories are similar, and they moved into the area at the same time. They may have gone into Shropshire (Salop) in a step migration before going unto Wales. Both were Norman families, and both were beneficiaries of the Crown.

Tradition holds that George designed and constructed in Trefeglwys at least one of the beautifully preserved half-timbered mansions of the early Elizabethan Renaissance. It is named Rhyd y Cawr, meaning deer run.³ It was built for one of the early Crown supporters named Edward Evans.* Edward Evans' son, named Edward, was heavily fined in 1648 for having born arms for the king. He was, of course, a Cavalier. *

For almost 500 years Rhyd y Cawr has been owned and preserved by prominent families in the area. The present family of owners has occupied the property for many

*Early Montgomeryshire Wills, Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. 24, pages 14-5; Vol. 18, pages 296-287.

years. Mrs. Gwen Davies, one of this family, graciously escorted me through the home from attic to the pebble-floored wine cellar. She stated that public funds are now provided to help maintain the structure in its original condition.

The ancient barn at Rhyd y Cawr lies alongside an old still used Roman road, the worn stones even now plainly visible. This building dates from about 600 A.D. Its structural supports are shaped like the keel of an old Saxon sailing vessel. It was originally used as a dwelling place. While Mrs. Davies pointed out to me in the dim light the carvings on the old inside timbers, I could almost sense the presence of families of tribesmen who, fourteen hundred years ago, lived out their lives alongside the road which the Romans had abandoned hundreds of years before.

Talgarth the ancient home of the Lloyds is near Rhyd y Cawar. The inhabitants were probably relatives of the Lloyds of Cefn Barrach, who are also ancestors of Edward Ashton, through his mother Elizabeth Savage. Talgarth was probably also built by George Ashton, or by his son John.⁶

While George Ashton was not as closely Church connected as the other ancestors referred to in Appendix to Chapter A, B and C, he was part of their society. His ancestry may have been English-Saxon. However, the fact that his son John was listed as a Gentleman and that George was favored by Elizabeth indicates he had Norman connections. I would guess the old family of Ashtons near Chester was the original family from which George descended. This is pure but reasonable conjecture. If so, it establishes the Ashtons (Aston) as Norman in their ancient origins. (See Note (1), Chapter 2)

George was an artisan, designer-builder, an artiste fiddler, and a member of the gentry. He and his descendants intermarried freely within the Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical community. I don't know if the builder of Rhyd y Cawr came into the area of Trefeglwys with a wife and family or married there. All I know is that in the very early 1600's, two male Ashtons were in the area, one at Trefeglwys and the other at Llanwnnog. * These two Parishes are about eight miles apart and must be considered for practical purposes a common area. These Ashtons were named Edward and John. I believe they were brothers and sons of George. Edward can quickly be eliminated as a direct ancestor. He seems to have left the area sometime during the unsettled times of the Rebellion and Restoration.⁴ He may have been a casualty in Cromwell's last battle in Wales. I have found no record of any children of this Edward and wife Maria in any of the parishes of Arwystli.

His brother John is the clearly established direct ancestor. John married an Elizabeth, August 22, 1631. They had four children. The first was either Jarman or Germain. This child died in infancy. The next child was named after his grandfather George. This George died without issue. The next son was John. There was also a daughter named Ann.

Son John married Ann Benbow, May 5, 1666. This again shows the close tie which existed between these early Welsh Anglo-Normans. Ann, as has been shown, was the daughter of Vicar John Benbow, who was the son of tavern owner John Benbow and his wife Mary Beversley. John died in 1674 and two years later his widow Ann married Edward Bennett, the Vicar of Trefeglwys.

Before John Ashton died, he and Ann had four children. The first, named John,

*Parish Registers of Trefeglwys and Llanwnnog. Also, see Vol. 22, Montgomeryshire Collections, beginning at page 17 and following.

was born in 1666. He had a brother Charles who died as an infant. A second Charles was christened in 1671. He left no record of any children.

Ancestor John, son of John Ashton and Ann Benbow, married a widow from Llanidloes named Mary Richards. Her former husband's name was John Richards. Mary's father was Edward Jarman. John Ashton and the widow Mary had seven children. Five were sons. The first was John who died about 1733. The next was Edward who lived 54 years. Edward married a woman named Mary. I have found no record of children born to this Edward and Mary. They are not direct ancestors of Richard Ashton. In 1702 Roger was born. He became the ancestor of the Ashtons of Pant and Maesblawd, Trefeglwys.⁵ He is not a direct ancestor of Richard Ashton. There were two other sons, Jarman and Valentine. Valentine died an infant and I can find no record of any issue of Jarman.

The oldest son John, son of John and Mary Richards, married Elizabeth Benbow, whose father was John Benbow and whose mother was Hester Jarman. Again the inter-marriage which is so common in the Ashton lineage being apparent. The four sons in order of their birth were Valentine, 1726; Edward, 1729; John, 1730; and Charles, 1733, all born in Trefeglwys. Valentine, who is the direct ancestor, married Mary Evans, whose father was Richard Evans and whose mother was named Martha. I don't know if Edward married. John married Sarah Roberts January 31, 1758. Charles married Elizabeth Davies February 3, 1761. They had five girls. John and Mary had two children, John and Mary.

Ancestor Valentine and Mary Evans had eight children, three boys and five girls. The three boys were John, March 27, 1748; Edward, August 7, 1756 or 57; and Richard, May 27, 1765. The girls were Martha, 1759; Hannah, July 5, 1762; and Sarah, December 11, 1767. I do not know the names of the other girls.

From this point on we know from family records the remaining links to the present generation. The mother of Richard Ashton, who was born in 1794, was Jane Bennett. She was the daughter of Nicholas Bennett and Mary Pryce. Once again the lineage reflects the inter-marriage. His father, contrary to family tradition, was not Richard Ashton. He was Edward Ashton. This is clearly established by the following records and simple deduction.

Edward Ashton, the son of Valentine and Mary Evans, with his wife Jane Bennett, had the following children; Mary, christened February 13, 1790; Edward, christened November 18, 1792; Richard, christened 1792; were they twins? Ann, christened June 8, 1800; and Margaret, christened May 21, 1803. The difficulty with Richard Ashton, father of Edward, is that we have no record of his birth. We do have the record of a Richard, christened in 1792. This Richard probably died as an infant. A second Richard was probably born in 1794. The records of Llanidloes are unfortunately missing for 1794. We know that Richard, the father of Edward, died in 1824 when he was thirty years of age. Therefore, he was born about 1794. It is quite possible that he is the one who was christened in 1792 and that listing his age at thirty in 1824 was only an approximation. Also, it is possible the christening date of 1792 is incorrect, unless he and Edward were twins. In any event ancestor Richard was the son of Edward and Jane. This is clearly established by records at the Logan Temple taken from information supplied by my grandfather Edward Ashton where it is recorded that Mary Kinsey was his aunt. This Mary was the sister of Richard, who was born about 1794. She married Richard Kinsey. Therefore, she and Richard Ashton had the same father. That father was Edward Ashton. If we indulge the presumption of legitimacy, which was a little shaky in the

Eighteenth Century, we can assume that his mother was Jane Bennett.

A great deal of confusion has been created by an inaccurate family tradition and history which refers to Edward Ashton's grandfather by the name of Richard. This could not be true if Edward Ashton's record at the Logan Temple is correct. His reference there to his aunt and uncle forces the conclusion that his grandfather was Edward Ashton.

I am satisfied that this is so, and that Edward Ashton, not Richard, was the grandfather of Edward Ashton who emigrated to America. Further supporting evidence, if such evidence is necessary, is found in the naming of Richard Ashton's sons. The first was named Richard, the second Edward. This was a common practice. The first son was often named after the father and the second after the grandfather.

Another interesting fact is revealed by the Church Bell at Trefeglwys. Impressed thereon is the name of a Richard Ashton who was Church Warden in 1824. He was succeeded the next year by Evan Kinsey. We know that Richard's widow married an Evan Kinsey. Was this the same Evan who succeeded the Richard whose name is on the bell, both at Church and at home? I suspect it was.

It seems quite clear to me that the descendants of George Ashton, while an integral part of the Anglo-Norman migration into North Wales, were different from most of the others. They were the practical men, the expert builders, mechanics, artisans, and farmers of the New Renaissance. As such they were necessary and equal partners with their more ecclesiastical associates who represented the newly established Church.⁶ They, however, were as alien to the Welsh as the other Ashtons. Again, significantly, they were members of the gentry.

I have tried to discover the origin of the Ashton name. I originally thought it might have come from the Celtic word Estyn—meaning east, or it may simply be a place name, i.e., a place near Ash trees. Since I have become completely convinced that the name is Norman and that the family first went to the River Mersey area near Liverpool and Chester and thence south to Shropshire (Salop) and in George's case special assignment to Wales.

Notes to Chapter C of Appendix

¹George Ashton lives, so far as I have been able to determine, only in tradition. There is, however, no question of his authenticity. It is generally accepted that he was the builder of at least Rhyd y Cawr. The tradition is that he was a favorite of Queen Elizabeth, who bestowed on him substantial lands at Carno (west of Trefewys) in exchange for his teaching the Welsh modern farming and building. The tradition that he was a famous fiddler may explain why Elizabeth liked him. "Fiddler" is a Saxon word—not Norman. It was used as early as 1200 in Layaman's Brut of harpe, of salterium, of fithele, and corium. Chaucer also wrote of "the fidel." (Encl.) There was a Thomas Ashton in Shropshire who was a school master and a fellow of Cambridge and a favorite of queen Elizabeth as shown by the following: When the Abbey and the other religious

institutions of SHREWSBURY were dissolved in 1538, a proposal was made, but never carried out, to erect this town into a bishop's see, with a school attached having a master and an usher, "to teach bothe grammer and logycke in the greke and latten tonge." When this scheme came to nought, the burgesses in 1548 sent to Lord Rich, the Lord Chancellor, a vain supplication for a free school and (now joined by the principal inhabitants of Shropshire and the adjacent counties and mid-Wales) they two years later made another, and this time a successful, effort, for as an old chronicle tells us:

The charter of Edward VI. bears the date February 10th, 1551-2, and is a grant of part of the tithes of the late colleges of St. Mary and St. Chad. The first master was a Sir Morys, who was apparently not a success, and the second a John Eyton, also a failure. But 1561 saw the appointment of Thomas Ashton Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and the school at once sprang into the first rank, for on December 28th, 1562, there were 266 scholars on the books, half alieni, half oppidani; and in seven years 875 boys were admitted

On May 23rd, 1571, *Queen Elizabeth in answer to the prayer of Ashton, her personal friend, made a further grant of the tithes of the Priory of Chirbury, and more of the estate of St. Marys* The ordinances by which the school was governed till 1798 (when they were repealed by Act of Parliament) *were drawn up by Ashton in 1577, who, though he had resigned his head-mastership six years before, still continued the "godlie father" of the school till his death in 1578.** (This friendship may have been shared by a son named George.)

²My source of a point of origin for George Ashton comes from Edward Donald Ashton of Surrey, a relative and friend of the Geseilfa Ashtons. He told me this at Geseilfa in the summer of 1973. He and his wife Winifred live Leybourne Cottage, Hascombe, Nr Crodulinging Surrey, England.

³There is a great deal of information about Rhyd y Cawr in Vol. 38, page 287 and following, *Montgomeryshire Collections*, and in Vol. 55, *Montgomeryshire Collections*, page 101 and following.

⁴The tradition that George Ashton was favored by Elizabeth indicates that his descendants would probably be Crown supporters during the period of the Rebellion and Restoration. As Crown supporters many of them later lost favor and their lands. Sometime during the void 1649-60 (Rebellion) when few records were kept, Ashtons Cavaliers may have left the area. John Ashton and Elizabeth Ashton seem to be the only Ashtons of the line who remained and had children. I believe they were children of George Ashton. This cannot be established by me

⁵One of the descendants of this family which emigrated to Austrailia became a very famous architect.

⁶While the Ashtons identified as Benbows, Beversleys, Bennetts, Wilsons, Bowens and Savages, were modern day equivalents of college graduates, the Ashtons who carried that name were not. They undoutedly were Guild members who acquired their skills under the apprentice system. Builders, Architects, and farmers were not college trained in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

*Memorials of Old Shropshire, page 220-21

CHART A

EDWARD ASHTON AND JANE TREHARNE

IMMEDIATE FAMILIES

EDWARD ASHTON (Chart C)
Cridelwyn and Derffraid
Bor. 7 Aug 1756-7
Mar. 27 Apr 1782

RICHARD ASHTON
Bor. 1792
Bur. 1822
Ch. Warden

JANE BENNETT (Chart D)
1759-1843
Mar. 27 Apr 1782

EDWARD ASHTON
Bor. 21 Aug 1821
Mar. 1 Apr 1854
Bur. 7 Feb 1904

ATHELUSTAN SAVAGE
(Chart B)
Bor. Feb. 1741-2
Mar. 24 Sept 1775
Bur. 1814

(CHILDREN)

EDWARD T. ASHTON
Bor. 14 July 1855

JEDEDIAH WILLIAM ASHTON
Bor. 27 Dec 1856

BRIGHAM WILLARD ASHTON
Bor. 11 Sept 1858

ELIZABETH ANN ASHTON
Bor. 20 Jan 1860

SARAH JANE ASHTON
Bor. 6 Nov 1861

EMILY TREHARNE ASHTON
Bor. 14 Feb 1864

GEORGE SAVAGE ASHTON
Bor. 27 July 1870

ELIZABETH SAVAGE
Caersus
Bor. 1795
Died in Wales

HESTER DAVIES (Chart E)
Bor. 1751
Mar. 24 Sept 1775
Bur. 1807

WILLIAM TREHARNE
Llanelli
Bor. 1771
Bur. 21 Nov 1842

WILLIAM TREHARNE
Llangydeirn
Bor. 11 June 1798
Mar. 14 Dec 1821
Bur. Oct 1850
At Council Bluffs

JANE WALTER(S)
Bor. Abt. 1775
Bur. 1822

JANE TREHARNE
Llangydeirn, Wales
Bor. 2 Apr 1828
Mar. 1 Apr 1854
Bur. 27 Aug 1897

JOHN RICHARDS
Carmarthenshire
Bor. Abt. 1768

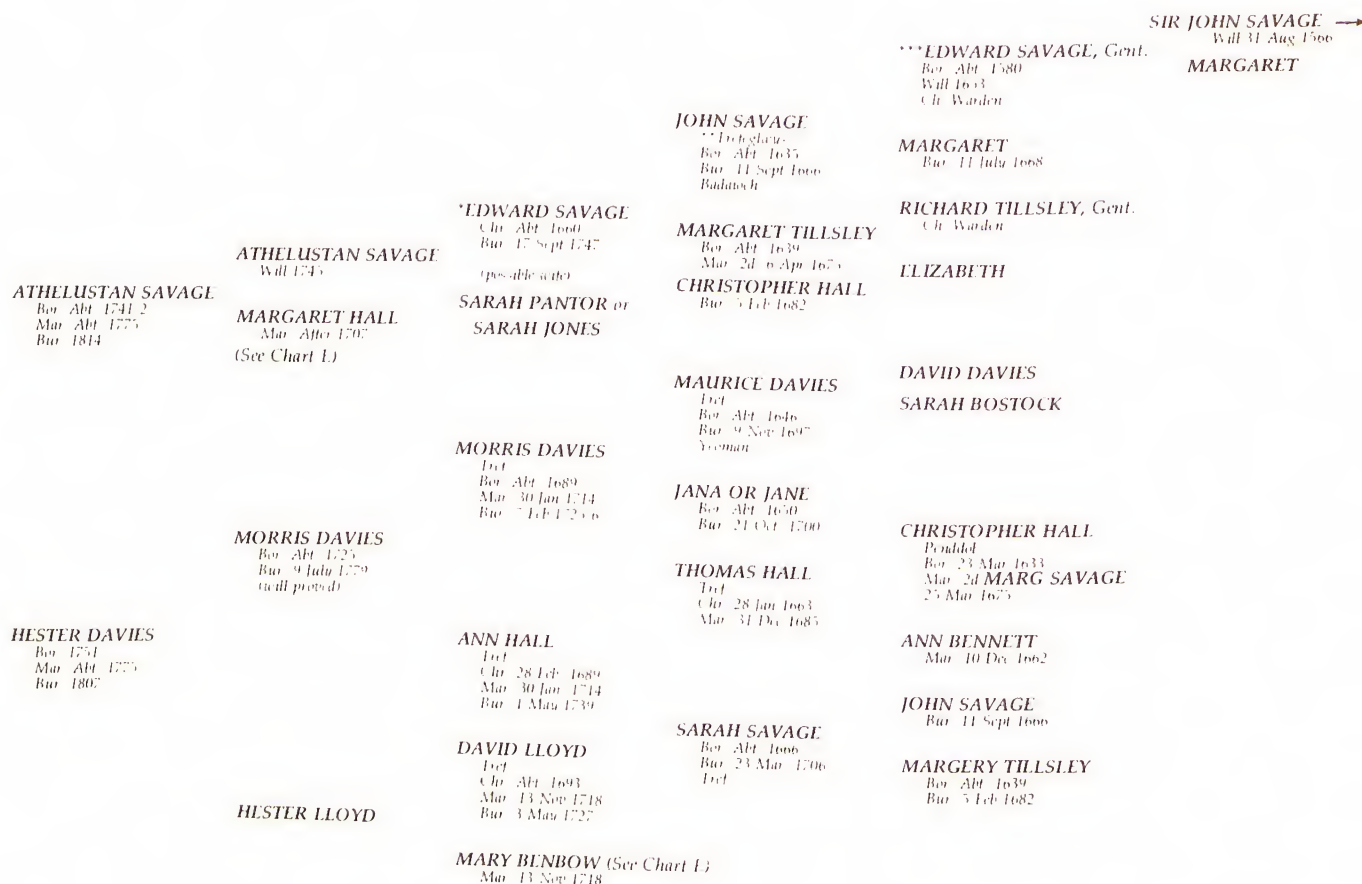
ANN RICHARDS
Llangydeirn
Bor. Abt. 1795-8
Mar. 14 Dec 1821
Bur. 3 May 1849

ANN
Carmarthenshire
Bor. Abt. 1769

CHART B

EDWARD ASHTON'S MATERNAL GRANDFATHER

ATHELUSTAN SAVAGE



*He was at Bodaioch and Cefn Barrach

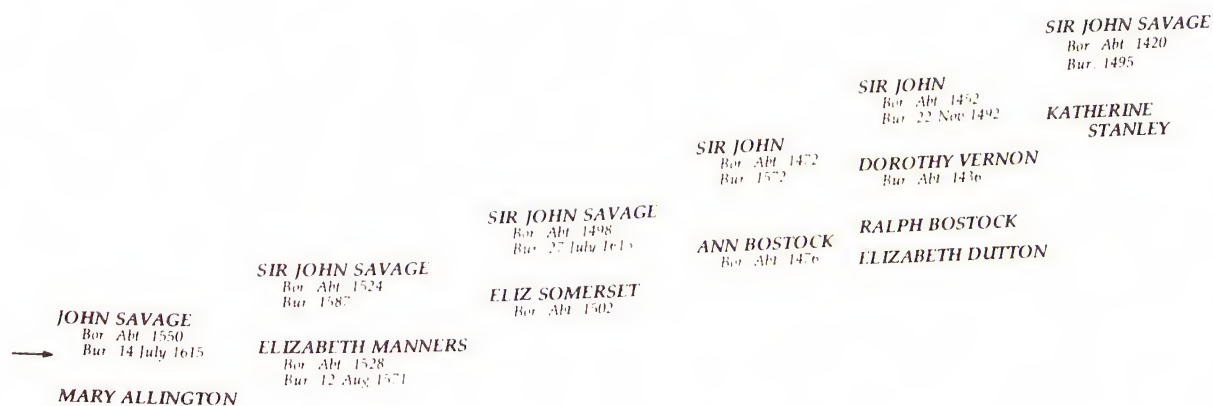
**Trefeglwys hereafter Tref.

***Descended in direct line from Sir John Savage and Catherine Stanley daughter of Sir Thomas Stanley born and died in 1400's at Rock Savage Chester.

Note: I have projected the Savage genealogy from the Elizabethan Renaissance in the Seventeenth Century (Sir John Savage, father of Edward Savage of Bodaioch) back to the well known Fifteenth Medieval Century Sir John Savage of Rock Savage, Chester. I have done this without genealogical authentication and for historical reasons. In doing so I have presumed that the oldest son connection, because of the title, was kept intact. The historical background, for reasons pointed out in earlier chapters, established in my mind that most of the "Welsh Ashtons" were descendants of the Medieval Marcher Lords who lived in the border lands of Cheshire and Lancashire and who migrated first to Shropshire and Staffordshire and still later into North Wales during the Elizabethan Renaissance.

A researcher, who has time could easily make connections. For example, as a teaser, Vicar John Benbow, a favored son of someone, probably was related, to the Admiral John Benbow of Shrewsbury who was born in Shropshire in 1653. The Savages and Benbows are only examples. I am convinced the same Chester, Lancashire, Shropshire and Staffordshire connections can be made with most all the other "Welsh Ashtons" shown on the charts.

I have postulated this conclusion with the hope that some interested person will make the effort to prove or disprove what I strongly believe to be the fact. This Medieval postulation does not relate to the other genealogies on the charts—they are authenticated and established.



Note: The continuation of Savage genealogy from Sir John to Sir John Savage born in 1400s is not represented by me or archives. It is included through what I think is an archive genealogy. Anyone who wished to do further research to authenticate can use this information as a lead. I hope someone will.

CHART C

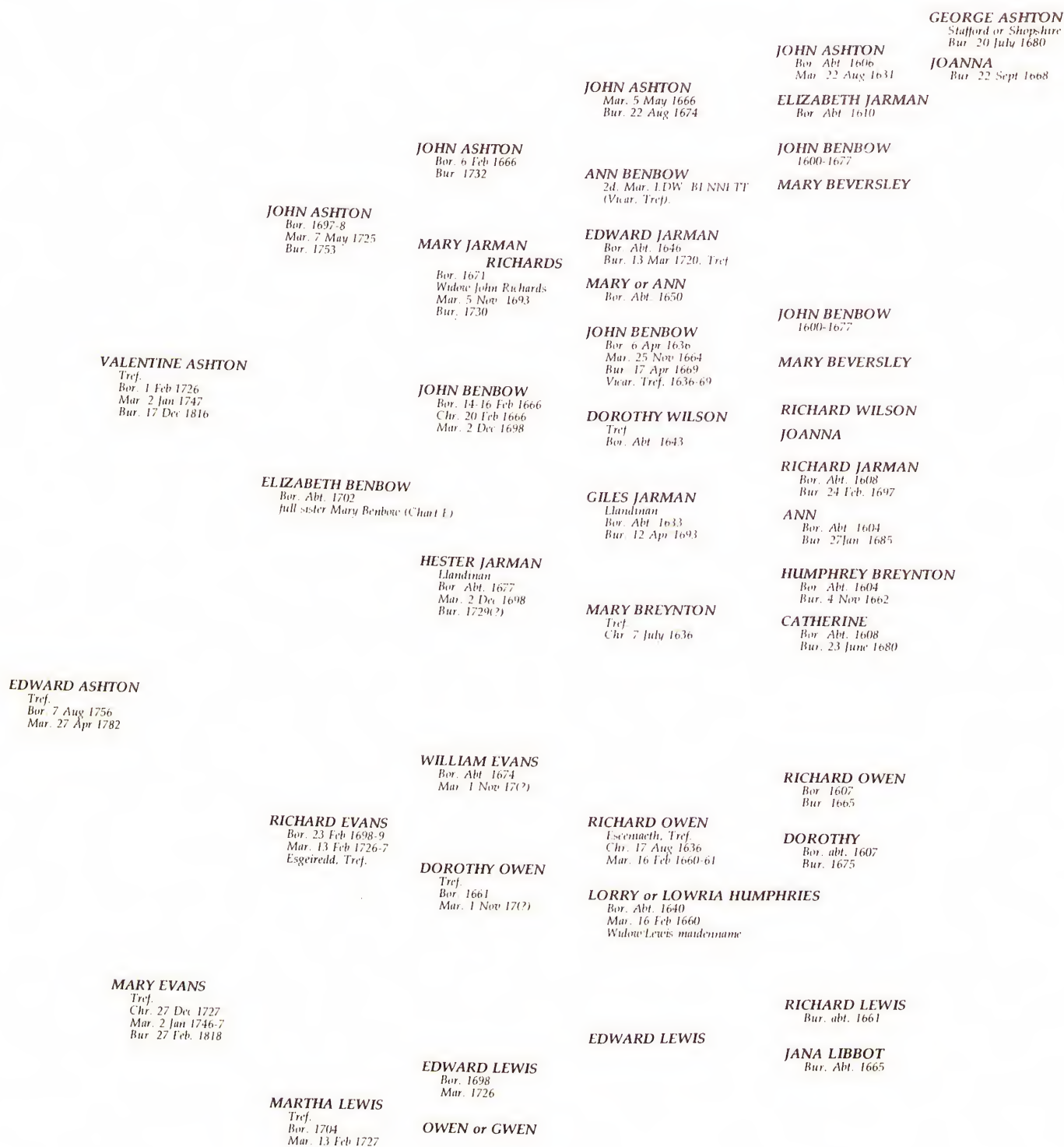
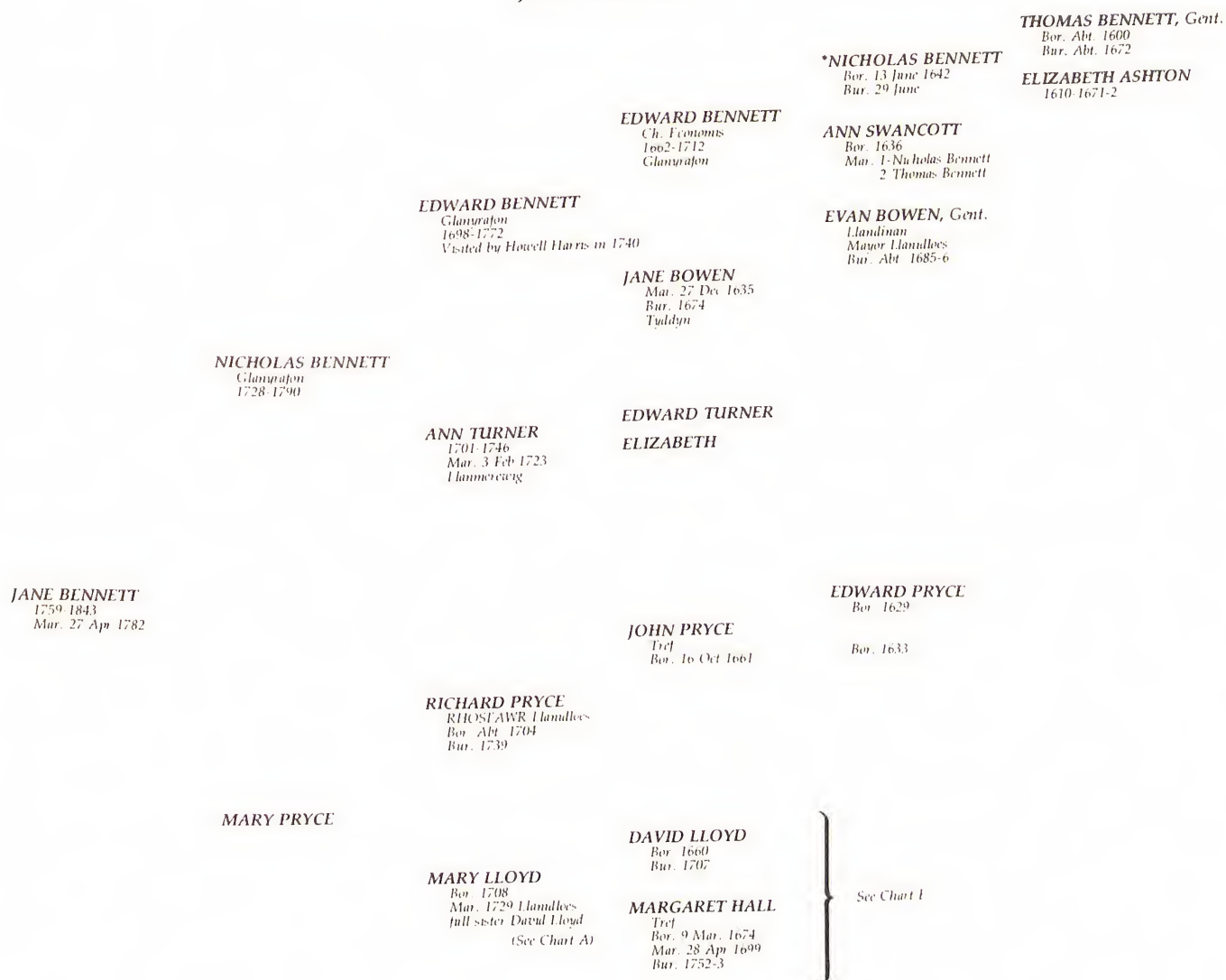
EDWARD ASHTON'S PATERNAL GRANDFATHER
EDWARD ASHTON

CHART D **EDWARD ASHTON'S PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER** **JANE BENNETT**



*Full brother to Ann Bennett
 See Chart E

EDWARD ASHTON'S MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER
HESTER LLOYD

***Full sister to Nicholas Bennett See Chart D

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